The Forum

OCTOBER, 1894.

SOME REASONS WHY THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC MAY ENDURE.

THE governments which have been called republics have not, as a rule, exhibited the kind or degree of durability which we desire for our own free government. The American Republic has now lasted more than a hundred years; and little Switzerland maintains a precarious existence by favor of powerful neighbors jealous of each other; but the so-called republics of Greece, Rome, and Italy, and two French republics, have perished. Mexico and the republics of Central and South America are insecure and ineffective governments. On the whole, in spite of our instinctive faith in free institutions, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the auguries which can be drawn from history are not favorable to the real permanence of any republic.

When we set out to seek reasons for believing that our republic will live longer than other governments which have borne that name, and will altogether escape decline and fall, we cannot but be dismayed to see what great powers and resources the older republics possessed, and what splendid achievements they made, without winning stability and perpetuity from all these powers, resources, and achievements. The Republic of Athens, for example, had an art and a literature which have proved themselves immortal. In sculpture and architecture Athens is still supreme; its literature still inspires and guides philosophers, poets, and men of letters in nations unborn when Greece was in her prime. Now art and literature are among the supreme achievements of the human race; yet the example of Athens demonstrates that they cannot of themselves safeguard a republic.

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We must not attempt to console ourselves for this painful fact by the thought that an effeminate and peaceful people might excel in art and literature, and that the absence of forceful national qualities might account for the instability of such a people's government. The story of the Roman Republic invalidates this theory. For generations the Roman Republic was the strongest government on earth; and even now, as we examine the elements of its strength, it seems to us that they might have given durability to that powerful commonwealth. In the first place, it had an admirable body of public law which determined justice between man and man and between man and state; and that body of law was so wise and ample that to-day it is the basis of the public law of the greater part of the populations of Europe. This great system of jurisprudence survived, indeed, the nation and the government which gave it birth; but did not give undecaying life to the nation which created it. Moreover, the Roman Republic possessed the most superb army which has ever existed—an army whose conquests were more extensive and more lasting than the conquests made by the arms of any other state, ancient or modern. The Roman army has never been equalled either as a fighting force or as a colonizing force; yet that army did not assure mounting vitality to the Roman commonwealth: on the contrary, it was one of the means of its downfall.

There are some short-sighted people who expect systems of public transportation and intercommunication to secure nations from disintegration; but again the history of Rome teaches the contrary. Rome had a transportation system which, considering the means at the disposal of the engineer at that time, has never been equalled. The Roman roads covered the greater part of Europe and northern Africa, and considerable portions of Asia; and they were so well constructed that parts of them remain to this day. Some of the Roman bridges have stood for twenty centuries unharmed by flood and weather. But this transportation system, vast and perfect as it was, did not prevent the decline and fall of the Roman power.

One might suppose that a nation strong and rich enough to carry out immense public works, such as aqueducts, baths, temples, palaces, and theatres, would necessarily possess also the means of giving durability to their form of government; but the experience of Rome proves that we can rely in our own case on none of these things. The Roman aqueducts, for example, which brought water to all their principal cities, are unequalled to the present day for size, massive-

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ness, and boldness of conception,—partly, to be sure, because the Roman engineers were forced to erect huge structures of masonry, since they had not learned to make large metallic pipes. Rome teaches conclusively that magnitude and splendor of public works have no tendency to guarantee the permanence of a state.

The Italian republics have still another lesson for us. Venice, which possessed an architecture of wonderful beauty, and an art in painting which still remains pre-eminent, developed these fine arts by means of a widespread commerce, which gave its citizens wealth, dignity, and power. It was, moreover, a martial republic. Its very merchants wore swords. Its paintings and palaces are still the admiration of the world; but its commerce has disappeared, and the Venetian Republic has long been obliterated. Successful commerce, and fine arts following in its train, provide no security for national perpetuity.

Most of the national resources and achievements which have now been mentioned have a certain material or physical quality. Perhaps we can discern in history some immaterial force, some national sentiment or passion, which can be relied on to give permanence to national institutions. There has been one power in the world on which men have greatly relied for the security of governmental and social institutions,—namely, the power of religious enthusiasm; but what does history teach with regard to the efficacy of this sentiment to give security to states? It is easy to find instances of concentrated religious enthusiasm in unified national forms. The Hebrew religion was of this sort. It bound together by a simple faith and a common ritual all the members of a race which possessed extraordinary vitality and persistence; but did it give permanence to Judea? Even as a province or a principality, Judea has disappeared. The race persists, but without a country or a capital. The Arabic civilization was carried from Asia through Africa into Spain by the Moslem religious enthusiasm; and it was a civilization which had fine arts, chronicles, and for the higher classes a delicate and luxurious mode of life. Its soldiers have never been surpassed for fervent devotion. But this concentrated religious zeal, effective as it was for conquest, did not preserve the Arabic civilization, which has disappeared from the face of the earth. Christian experience points to the same conclusion. Spain, for example, drove out the Moors and the Jews, exterminated the Protestants, and made itself Roman Catholic unitedly and fervently; but that single Roman Catholic belief and ritual did not

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preserve for Spain its once pre-eminent position in Europe. On the contrary, Spain, become single in religious opinion and practice, languished, retrograded, and lost place among the leaders of civilization. In the present century it is a striking fact that the three nations which have given the greatest proofs of constitutional vigor,—namely, Germany, England, and the United States—are those which in religious opinions and practices are very heterogeneous, so that no concentrated religious fervor can possibly melt and unite all their people. We cannot believe, then, that religious enthusiasm, however unified and concentrated, can guarantee the permanent existence of a state.

Great public powers, splendid arts, noble literature, wide-spread commerce, and exalted religious sentiment have, then, all failed to secure the continuance of states. Perhaps a humbler achievement of recent times may prove more effectual,—namely, the achievement of general, diffused physical well-being. There seem to be a good many social philosophers in these days who believe that the general diffusion of physical comforts, and the accessibility of easy modes of life for large numbers of people, will have some tendency to give permanence to the institutions under which these material goods are secured; that the power which man has won over nature through the study of chemistry, physics, and natural history means stability for the institutions under which these conquests have been achieved. May not these theorizers be right? Will not growing wealth, ease, and comfort guarantee the state, provided that these advantages be within reach of the many? The answer to this question must depend on the spiritual use made of added physical comfort. A nation is after all but the agglomeration of an immense number of individuals, and the moral condition of a nation can be nothing but the result of the morality prevailing among the individuals who compose it. Comfort, ease, and wealth must have on a nation almost the same effects that they have on an individual. Now, softness and ease of life do not always make for manliness and virtue. It is not generally supposed that riches increase the probability of enduring vitality for a family or a social class. The common opinion is that wealth and luxury make it, not easier, but harder to bring up children to serviceable citizenship. All persons who have been concerned with education during the past forty years—which is the period of most rapid increase in diffused physical comfort for all classes, and in wealth and luxury for considerable numbers—recognize that great efforts are necessary in order to bring up successfully the children of

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the luxurious classes; because they lack the natural training to service which children get in families where every member has habitually to contribute to the common maintenance. It is harder, not easier, for the rich man than for the poor man to bring up his children well. Families of moderate means have a great advantage over the rich in this respect. In this matter of material well-being there is surely some question concerning the profitable degree of comfort and ease. By common consent there is a degree of it which debilitates rather than invigorates. The general fact seems to be that the effect of material prosperity on the development of an individual or the duration of a family depends on the use made of added wealth and comfort. When added material resources produce in the individual, or in the family, additional mental and moral resources, all the additions work together for good; otherwise added wealth is a hindrance and not a help. When a mechanic, a clerk, a farmer, or a laborer doubles his income and his expenditures, it does not necessarily follow that the mode of life of himself and his family will be purer, more refined, and more intellectual. It may be elevated, or it may not be. In the same way it would be the intellectual and moral effects of a higher degree of physical ease and comfort enjoyed by a whole people which would determine whether the material gain were a good thing or an evil. If diffused prosperity made a people lazy, selfish, and sensual, as it easily might, it would not contribute to the permanence of their nationality or their government. It is not the climates which are always soft, warm, and caressing which produce the most vigorous races of men. While we see plainly that extreme poverty is an evil and a danger alike for the individual, the family, and the state, we can place no reliance on diffused physical well-being as a source of public security, until we can be assured of its effects on the motives, affections, and passions of the people. There is no sure hope in either increase or redistribution of wealth.

If, then, we would find reasons for believing that the American Republic will live, when other republics have not lived, we must seek for intellectual and moral causes of permanence which are comparatively new in the world, or at least which have much fuller play in recent than in elder times.

The first moral cause of permanence of which the American Republic has the advantage is the principle of toleration in religion—a principle which, though not recently enunciated (nobody has ever stated it better than William the Silent), has been very recently put in

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practice, not by any means in all parts of the civilized world, but in a few favored regions, and notably in the United States. On one of the tablets of the Water-gate at Chicago was written this sentence: "Toleration in religion the best fruit of the last four centuries." This statement is no exaggeration, but the literal truth. Toleration in religion is absolutely the best fruit of all the struggles, labors, and sorrows of the civilized nations during the last four centuries. The real acceptance of this principle cannot be carried back more than fifty years. Even now it is not accepted everywhere,—far from it; but it is accepted in the United States more widely and completely than in any other country, and here lies one of the chief hopes for the permanence of our institutions. We are delivered from one of the worst terrors and horrors of the past. What suffering our race has endured from religious wars, persecutions, and exterminations! From these woes, and from all apprehension of them, the people of the American Republic are delivered. We owe to this principle, however, much more than deliverance from evils; for it is a positive promoter of good-will and mutual respect among men and of friendly intercourse unembarrassed by religious distinctions. That this beneficent principle has freer play here than it has ever had elsewhere gives one firm ground for believing that our Republic may attain a permanence never before attained.

Another mental and moral force which makes for the permanence of our institutions is universal education. This is a new force in the world, not in action in any land before this century. It has not existed more than twenty years in such a civilized country as France; it dates only from 1871 in England. It is not yet true that education is universal even in our own country; but the principle of universal education finds general acceptance, and the practical results approximate more and more, as time goes on, to the requirements of the theoretical principle. In all civilized countries continuous effort is made to bring the practice up to the level of the theory. Within three generations immense progress has been made; and it now seems as if a perfectly feasible development of this principle in practice must work a profound change in human society within a comparatively small number of additional generations. Must we not hope everything from this new factor in civilized life,—from the steady cultivation in all classes of correct observation, just reasoning, and the taste for good reading? Must we not hope to be delivered from a thousand evils of ignorance and unreason which now oppress us?

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It is reasonable to expect that even the evils of inherited vicious tendencies and habits will be mitigated by universal education. It is always through the children that the best work is to be done for the uplifting of any community. When we consider how few years in the history of mankind this practice of general education has prevailed, and to how few generations it has ever been applied, we cannot but find in this new practice great hope for the development of the intelligence and morality needed to secure the permanence of free institutions. It is a commonplace that republican institutions are built on education; but we hardly realize how new that commonplace is. Plato taught that the industrial and producing classes needed no education whatever. None of the republics which have died had anything more than a small educated class. The masses of their people grew up and lived in crassest ignorance. The great change in regard to the education of the people which the present century has witnessed is not confined to mere primary instruction. That primary instruction is of course the most widely diffused, and imparts to the masses the art of reading, which is the principal vehicle for the subsequent cultivation of the intelligence. Beyond this primary instruction about five per cent of all the children in the United States receive the more elaborate training of secondary schools and normal schools. Of this five per cent a fair proportion attend colleges and universities. This attainment of secondary, or higher, instruction by one child in twenty in the United States is quite as novel a social fact as the attainment of primary instruction by the other nineteen. Universal suffrage prolongs in the United States the effect of universal education; for it stimulates all citizens throughout their lives to reflect on problems outside the narrow circle of their private interests and occupations, to read about public questions, to discuss public characters, and to hold themselves ready in some degree to give a rational account of their political faith. The duties of republican citizen-ship, rightly discharged, constitute in themselves a prolonged education, which effectively supplements the work of schools and colleges.

A third reason for believing that our institutions will endure is to be found in the fact that a better family life prevails among our people than was known to any of the republics which have perished, or, indeed, to any earlier century. The family, not the individual, is the tap-root of the state, and whatever tends to secure the family tends to secure the state. Now family life—under which term may

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properly be included all the complex relations between husband and wife, and parents and children—is gentler in this century, and particularly in the United States, than it has ever been. Family discipline has become, even within thirty years, much gentler than it ever was before. The relations of husband and wife have also become juster. In the savage state the superior physical strength of the man, his greater freedom from occasional or periodical bodily limitations, and his greater enterprise and boldness, made the relation of husband and wife very like that of master and slave. Civilization has steadily contended against that savage inheritance; and has aimed through public law at the emancipation of the weaker sex and the establishment of equality in the relation of the sexes. A single illustration—the laws affecting the transmission of property—must suffice. American legislation on this subject is the justest the world has seen. Under the feudal system it was almost necessary to the life of that social organization that, when the father died, the real estate—which was generally the whole estate—should go to the eldest son over the head of the mother; for the son inherited his father's responsibilities in war, in productive industries, and in society. The son, not the wife, was the husband's heir. In France to-day, if a man dies leaving a wife and children, a large share of his property must go to his children. He is not free under any circumstances to give it all to his wife. A prescribed portion must by law go to the children over the head of their mother. The children are his children, and the wife is not recognized as an equal owner. It is the man who is the head of that group of human beings, and a large share of his property must go to his children. Again we see in public law an assertion of the lower place of the woman. But how is it in our own country? In the first place we have happily adopted a valuable English measure, the right of dower; but this measure, though good so far as it goes, gives not equality, but a certain protection. Happily, American law goes farther, and the wife may inherit from the husband the whole of his property. She must receive a part of it; but he, under certain restrictions intended to prevent frauds on creditors, may give her the whole. On the other hand, the wife, if she has property, may give the whole of it to the husband. Here is established in the law of inheritance a relation of equality between husband and wife,—a relation which is the happiest, justest, and most beneficent for the man, the woman, their children, and the state. It is an indirect advantage of our laws and customs concerning the inheritance of property that

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they promote the redistribution of wealth accumulated in single hands. The custom of treating all children alike in testamentary dispositions obviously tends in this direction; and the practice of leaving property to women promotes the redistribution of wealth, because women are, as a rule, less competent than men either to keep money or to make it productive. There is a real safeguard in these customs against the undue increase of wealth and luxury. That gentleness and justice in family life should have been greatly promoted under the American Republic, not among a small minority of the people, but among the masses, may well give us a lively hope for the permanence of the institutions under which these benefits have been attained. Whatever regulates wisely the relations of the sexes, and increases domestic happiness, increases also social and governmental stability.

Pursuing the idea that the promotion of diffused happiness promotes governmental stability, we observe next that certain means of public happiness have recently been liberally provided in many American communities at public expense with great intelligence and by deliberate design. During the last twenty-five years strenuous efforts have been made in many municipalities to promote public happiness by giving opportunities to the multitude for the enjoyment of fresh air and natural beauty. One of the most striking social phenomena in the United States of recent years has been the sudden creation of public parks and playgrounds, constructed and maintained at public expense. At bottom the meaning of this sudden development is that the people seek to procure for themselves, and are procuring, increased means of health and happiness. They have still much to learn in regard to utilizing the means provided, for our native population does not take naturally to fresh air, family holidays, and out-of-door meals. They have been too long unwonted to these wholesome delights. This public park and garden movement has only just begun; but the improvement made within twenty years gives the strongest possible hope for the rapid spread of this wise public policy. European municipalities have often been enabled to provide themselves with parks and gardens by appropriating royal domains, estates of nobles, or disused forts and fortifications. The democratic American communities have enjoyed no such facilities, but have been obliged to buy the reservations—often at great cost—and create or restore the needed beauties of park or garden. That the democracy should manifest both the will and the capacity to accomplish such beneficent and far-seeing undertakings is a good

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omen of durability for that form of government. The provision of free libraries and museums of natural history and fine arts at public expense, or by the combination of private endowments with public appropriations, is another evidence of the disposition of the democracy to provide the means of public cultivation and enjoyment. Much of this good work has been done within the past forty years, and very little such work was ever done before by a popular government. The American cities have also grappled intelligently with the serious problems of water-supply, sewerage, and preventive medicine, although the suddenness and volume of the movement of the population into large towns and cities have greatly increased the normal difficulty of these problems.

Another new and effective bulwark of the state is to be found in the extreme publicity with which all American activities are carried on. Many people are in the habit of complaining bitterly of the intrusion of the newspaper reporter into every nook and corner of the state, and even into the privacy of home; but in this extreme publicity is really to be found a new means of social, industrial, and governmental reform and progress. As Emerson said, "Light is the best policeman." There are many exaggerations, perversions, and inaccuracies in this publicity; but on the whole it is a beneficent and a new agency for the promotion of the public welfare. Such publicity has become possible partly through man's new power over nature, as seen in the innumerable applications of heat and electricity, and partly through the universal capacity to read. For almost all social, industrial, and political evils publicity gives the best hope of reasonable remedy. Publicity exposes not only wickedness, but also folly and bad judgment. It makes crime and political corruption more difficult and far less attractive. The forger, burglar, and corruptionist need secrecy for two reasons: first, that they may succeed in their crimes; and secondly, that they may enjoy the fruits of their wickedness. The most callous sinner finds it hard to enjoy the product of his sin if he knows that everybody knows how he came by it. No good cause ever suffered from publicity; no bad cause but instinctively avoids it. So new is this force in the world that many people do not yet trust it, or perceive its immense utility. In cases of real industrial grievances or oppressions, publicity would be by far the quickest and surest means of cure,—vastly more effective for all just ends than secret combinations of either capitalists or laborers. The newspapers, which are the ordinary instruments of this publicity, are as yet very

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imperfect instruments, much of their work being done so hastily and so cheaply as to preclude accuracy; but as means of publicity they visibly improve from decade to decade, and, taken together with the magazines and the controversial pamphlet, they shed more light on the social, industrial, and political life of the people of the United States than was ever shed before on the doings and ways of any people. This force is distinctly new within this century, and it affords a new and strong guarantee for the American Republic.

Within the past fifty years there has been developed for the conduct of business, education, and charity an agency which may fairly be called new,—namely, the corporation. Although a few charitable, trading, and manufacturing corporations were of earlier origin,—some of which became famous,—the great development of corporate powers and functions has all taken place within fifty years, since the application of the principle of limited liability. Thousands upon thousands of corporations are now organized in the United States, and are actively carrying on a great variety of industrial and social operations. Millions of Americans get their livings and pass their lives in the service of these corporations. As a rule, the employees of corporations receive wages or salaries, and have no further interest in the business. We are so familiar with this state of things that we do not realize its absolute novelty. It has practically been created within the lifetime of persons who are not yet old. In the service of corporations there is seldom any element of personal devotion, such as existed in other times between subject and sovereign, or between retainer and feudal chief; but there is a large element of fidelity and loyalty, which is becoming of greater and greater importance in the formation of the national character. A considerable portion of all the business, charity, and education carried on in the United States is well conducted by the faithful and loyal servants of corporations, as every one will plainly see, so soon as he takes account of his own contacts in daily life with the work of corporations, and compares them with his contacts with the work of individuals or of partnerships. This corporation service affords a new discipline for masses of people; and it is a discipline of the highest value toward inducing stability and durability in governmental institutions. The service of a town or city, of a state, or of the national government is really a kind of corporation service, carried on at present, to be sure, under unfavorable conditions, the public service being subject to evils and temptations from which private corporation service is for the most

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part exempt, and yielding to those who pay its cost less for their money than they get from any other kind of corporation. In all probability these unfavorable conditions will prove to be temporary. From the frequent occurrence of strikes on railroads and in mines we get an impression that there is little fidelity in the service of corporations; but it must be remembered that the organization of American railroads and mining companies is, with some notable exceptions, very inferior to the organization of other corporations, and that the laborers in the lower grades of these two employments are distinctly of an inferior sort. Most of these railroad and mining corporations have never adopted any of the means which European experience has shown to be efficacious for attaching their employees permanently to their service. For the most part they claim the right to act on the brutal principle of instant dismissal without notice or cause assigned. If we direct our attention to the banks, trust companies, insurance companies, manufacturing corporations, colleges, universities, endowed schools, hospitals, and asylums of the country, we shall realize that the quality of corporation service is really good, and that the great majority of corporation servants exhibit in high degree the admirable virtues of fidelity and loyalty. The successful career of the new companies which insure fidelity is an interesting corroboration of this observation. Even the railroads and the mines exhibit from time to time fine examples of fidelity on the part of large bodies of their employees, in spite of extremely adverse conditions, such as the presence of serious bodily danger, and the seductions of unions which claim to represent the permanent interests of workingmen. There can be no better preparation for faithful and loyal service to the government than faithful and loyal service to a corporation which conducts a business of magnitude and recognized utility. In these days of comprehensive trusts and far-reaching monopolies we see clearly that such agencies directly prepare the way for governmental assumption of their powers and functions. The wider and more comprehensive the monopoly, the stronger becomes the argument for the assumption of that business by the government. Indeed, the government is the only agency which should be trusted with a complete monopoly. At any rate, the presumption is in favor of government conduct of any business which has complete possession of the market. The corporation, then, is not simply a means of aggregating small capitals and utilizing them in large blocks; it is also an agency for training masses of people to the high virtues of fidelity and

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loyalty—virtues which cannot but secure the state. At the present stage of progress, with all corporations so new in the world, society suffers through them various evils, such as oppressive monopoly, destructive competition, political corruption, and occasionally inefficiency and obstructiveness; but on the whole this new agency is of incalculable value to modern society, and will prove in time to come a real buttress of free institutions.

The recent attempts to carry out general strikes in industries which produce or distribute necessaries of life have demonstrated that society will not endure a suspension of labor in such industries for more than a few days. The reason is that men are much more dependent on each other than they used to be. The extreme division of labor, which has more and more characterized the normal industrial methods in civilized states since the beginning of the present century, has brought about a mutual dependence of man on man and community on community, which is a strong guarantee of the permanence of free institutions. Adam Smith dealt with this great subject of the division of labor in 1776; but the present century has seen the principle wrought out in detail, and carried through every branch of industry,—indeed, the last fifty years have witnessed extensive new applications of the principle. In the savage state each family is tolerably independent of every other, as regards food, clothing, and shelter. Fifty years ago a New England farmer raised on his own farm most of the materials which supplied him and his family with food, clothing, fire, and shelter; but now, when three-fifths of the population of New England live in large towns or cities, when the New England farm no longer produces either wheat or wool, and when every urban household imports the whole of its food and clothing, and all its materials for light and heat, the dependence of every little group of New-Englanders on numerous other persons, near and remote, has become wellnigh absolute. All civilized mankind lives under similar conditions of interdependence. The sense of dependence is of course mutual, and with it goes some recognition of common aims and hopes among the different sorts and conditions of men. This sense of common interests is something very different from the sentiment of human equality. It is a feeling of unity, not of equality. It has a firm foundation in facts; whereas the notion that men are equal is plainly false, unless it be strictly limited to the political significance of equality, namely, to equality before the law and in regard to the right of suffrage. It is a feeling which leads naturally to a sense of human

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brotherhood. In a family the feeling of mutual dependence and mutual support is one of the roots of family affection. In the same way in the larger human brotherhood the mutual dependence which division of labor has brought about strengthens the feeling of unity. The doctrine of human brotherhood has been taught for thousands of years. It is all contained in two words—"Our Father"; but, though accepted by seers and philosophers, it has been little realized in practice by the multitude. There are many signs of the wide and steady spread of the realized acceptance in practice of this doctrine. The theory, long current in the world, gets more and more applied in institutions, in business, and in society. The fact of intimate mutual dependence extends to different states and nations. A federation of states like the American Union affords a favorable field for the practical realization by masses of people of the truth of the affirmation St. Paul frequently repeated, "We are members one of another." It gives excellent opportunities for observing that the misfortune of one state is invariably the misfortune of all; that no state can suffer in its crops, or its industries, or its moral standards, without involving the others in loss and damage. Under a federated government like our own, the conditions under which such deductions as these may be made are simpler than they can possibly be when the experiences of different nations, living under different forms of government and under different legislation, must be compared. In spite, therefore, of local and sectional jealousies and oppositions, the American people have come to accept as literal truth St. Paul's statement, "And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." The doctrine is old; but the realization of the doctrine is new. This realization of an ancient truth marks again the progress of society toward practical acceptance of the conception that there is a genuine unity of aims and hopes among all men, an acceptance which of itself will prove a stout bulwark of free institutions.

We now come to certain abstract considerations which, though to some minds they will doubtless seem intangible and unsubstantial, probably supply the firmest grounds for hopeful anticipations concerning the future of free institutions. In recent times serious changes have taken place in regard to the highest hopes, aspirations, and ideals of mankind. These ideal conceptions have been slowly wrought out in the minds of students, philosophers, and poets, and have been cherished by the few; but suddenly, within the past two generations, they have found acceptance with multitudes of men. This sudden acceptance is

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the combined result of the rapid progress of scientific knowledge during the last fifty years, and of the general ability of the people to read. These changes of expectation, aspiration, and faith are of course only moral forces; but they are forces which greatly affect the sum of human happiness. As has already been repeatedly intimated, the stability of governments depends largely on the just answer to the question—Do they provide the necessary conditions of happy human life? The first change of expectation which claims attention is the changed sentiment of the people toward what is new and therefore untried. The American people as a rule approach a new object, a new theory, or a new practice, with a degree of hope and confidence which no other people exhibits. The unknown is to the savage terrible; the dark has been dreadful, and evil has always been imagined of it; many highly civilized people have an aversion to things novel; but for us Americans so many new things have proved to be good things, that we no longer look on what is novel with suspicion and distrust. Our continent is new, and has proved to be rich; our machinery is new, and has proved to be useful; our laws are many of them new, but they have proved helpful. The people have traversed many wilds and wastes, but have passed them with safety, and found good in the unexplored and unknown. The untried is therefore for us no longer terrible, or, at least, to be suspected. Hope and expectation of good spring in our hearts, as never before in the hearts of former generations or in earlier ages.

Furthermore, the changes which have taken place in the realized doctrines of Christianity concerning the origin and nature of man are very reassuring for those who believe in the possibility of developing a nation of freemen capable of orderly self-government. The old conceptions of the fall of man and of the total depravity of the race were good foundations for the regime of a beneficent despot, but not for the regime of self-governing freemen. The modern doctrine of the steady ascent of man through all his history is necessarily welcome to republicans, because it justifies their political beliefs. Again, enlarged knowledge of the nature of the universe, and a more accurate view of man's humble place in it, have also contributed to the prevalence of a humane philosophy which is a security for good governments. It was, on the whole, an unwholesome conception that the universe was made for man, and that he was the rightful master of it all. Out of that prodigious piece of ignorant assumption came many practical wrongs toward animals and inferior races of men. To a more cheer-

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ful outlook the gradual triumph of science over many terrors and superstitions has contributed, as has also the growing power of men to resist or moderate the effects of catastrophes like storms, droughts, famines, and pestilences. The earth and the universe are brighter and less terrible than they were. There is even a greater brightening in man's spiritual landscape. No cherished ideal of our race has undergone a more beneficent change during the present century than the ideal of God; and this change makes strongly for the happiness of mankind. The Christian Gospel has just begun to be realized. We have just begun to understand that God is love. He has been an awful ideal of justice and wrath,—an angry deity whose chief functions were punishment and vengeance. The world He made was full of evil; the men He made were all depraved, and most of them hopelessly so. This ideal of divinity, however influential, did not increase human cheerfulness and joy. Although it lingers still in creeds, consecrated formulæ, and ancient hymns, it has practically ceased to be believed by considerable numbers of men, both churched and unchurched. The ideal which replaces it is one of supreme power and love, filling the universe, working through all human institutions, and through all men. This deal promotes happiness and joy. It is not new; but it is newly realized by multitudes. Now, these beneficent changes in the spiritual conceptions of large numbers of men have taken place since our country took on its present governmental structure; and they have lent and will lend to that structure a firm support, because they contribute generously to the happiness and true spirituality of the people.

Finally, the object of religion and the aim of its ministers have become wonderfully different, since the American Republic was established, from what they were in ancient or mediæval times, or even down to the opening of this century. The religions of the ancient world had very little to do with morality. They were propitiatory and protective. The Christian religion and its ministers for the last fifteen hundred years were chiefly concerned with the conciliation of an offended God, the provision of securities for individual happiness in a future life; these securities being attainable by persons whose mode of life in this world had been of questionable or even vicious quality, and the offering of joys in another world as consolation or compensation for sufferings or evils in this. Since the beginning of this century a revolution has occurred, which has been felt in almost every branch of the Christian church and in almost

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every Christian nation, but has had a broad sweep in the United States. The primary objects of religion and its ministers in our day and country are more and more to soften and elevate the characters and lives of men in this world, and to ameliorate the common lot. The improvement of character and conduct in the individual, in society, and in the state during this present life is now becoming the principal aim of many churches and their ministers. The progressive churches are all of this mind; and even the most conservative—like the Roman Catholic and the Presbyterian—plainly exhibit this tendency. By the multitude of the unchurched also it is generally understood that there is no angry God to propitiate, and that the only way to take securities for the morrow, whether in life or in death, is to do well the duties of to-day. Religion, by devoting itself to the elevation of human character, becomes a prop and stay of free institutions, because these rest ultimately on the character of the citizen.

These, then, are some of the new principles and forces which make for the permanence of the Republic: toleration in religion; general education; better domestic relations; attention to the means of public health and pleasure; publicity; corporation service; increased mutual dependence of man on man, and therewith a growing sense of brotherhood and unity; the greater hopefulness and cheerfulness of men's outlook on man, the earth, the universe, and God; and finally the changing objects and methods of religion and its institutions. It is the working of these principles and forces, often unrecognized, which has carried the Republic safely through many moral difficulties and dangers during the past thirty years. These things, and not its size and wealth, make us love our country. These things, we believe, will give the American Republic long life. These bulwarks of the commonwealth will prove all the stronger and more lasting, because women as well as men can work on them, and help to transmit them, ever broader and firmer, from generation to generation.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

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HAS ORATORY DECLINED?

THERE has been of late frequent allusion to, and some discussion of, the decay or decline of oratory in recent years, and of what has been the cause. It is much easier to determine the fact than to answer the far more important question, why it has declined. There can be no doubt that the *volume* of public speaking has in this country, and I am quite sure elsewhere, vastly increased, outrunning all other expansion—whether of territory, of population, or wealth, or any other element of growth. Take as a test a single long session of Congress, that national meter of public speaking, and compare it with one fifty years before it. The Congressional oratory of the session of 1839–'40 covered 1,405 pages of the "Congressional Globe;" that of the session of 1889–'90 covered 11,568 similar pages of the "Congressional Record." And this may be taken as a fair rate of increase during the same period at any point where public speaking may be treated as a calling. But, while all oratory is public speaking, all public speaking is very far from being oratory. The plain inquiry raised is whether there is as much oratory in the public speaking of the present day as in the past, and whether it is declining in quality or is held up to the standard of the earlier days of the Republic. What is the standard that shall determine that quality? Herein lies the main difficulty.

Whether public speaking which combines oratory and eloquence is in a state of decline or decay is a question of much importance and cannot enlist too much attention. It cannot be doubted that it has undergone great change, whether compared with the little that has come down to us from ancient orators, or with what comes within the memory of those still living. In the overflow of public speaking of the present day no one looks for, or would think of finding, anything which would remind him of Fisher Ames or Daniel Webster. But would he not, nevertheless, find very much which is entitled to live with the imperishable productions of the past, because, like them, they are marvellous instrumentalities in producing great and abiding results? One would hesitate before he would say that,

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judged by such a test, oratory or eloquence is moribund. We are thus led directly to the conclusion that the value of public speech, and, consequently, of whatever of oratory or eloquence there is in it, depends upon its purpose and its adaptation to the accomplishment of that purpose. This is what Webster means when he speaks of a theme which is "something greater and higher than all eloquence," which causes "the graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech to shock and disgust men, when their own lives and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country hang on the decision of the hour." The "subject and the occasion" are as essential as the man to the production of any great and enduring utterance of speech. Mr. Boutwell, himself one of the best illustrations of modern oratory, asserts the same truth when he says that "the great orators have appeared and the great orations have been delivered in revolutionary periods." These occasions cannot be created to order, but themselves wait on the order of the universe.

A review of the last half-century of our history, while it will disclose a great change in method and manner of public speaking as well as in the conditions under which it has been maintained, will not, it is confidently believed, sustain the charge that the man has not shown himself equal to the occasion or the theme. He could not be called upon to rise above them, and he can have no agency in creating either. He who longs for another Chatham or Burke or Webster or Phillips or Beecher must be patient till there again arises such an occasion as Conciliation with the Colonies, or Nullification, or the Anti-Slavery Struggle, or the Cause of the Union at home and abroad. We have had, only a generation now past, the greatest of all crises in our history, and there have come down to the present, with its record, some great orations which will live as long as any others in the English language. But there are not many such. The reason there were not more is not difficult to find. The country was not carried through that great crisis by much speaking. The debate closed when the first gun was fired at Sumter, and valor, not oratory, thereafter swayed the fortunes of the Republic. But still there were times during the war when gloom and despondency so shut out the light and weighed upon the spirits that thoughts of compromise found entertainment in the minds of faint-hearted and timid public servants. Then the subject and the occasion appealed to the loftiest powers of the orator, and the response was worthy of the theme. The oration of Henry Winter Davis on the Value of the Union, pro-

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nounced in the House of Representatives at one of these critical moments, in the grandeur and force and the lofty patriotism which inspired his utterances, will suffer in comparison with none of the great orations, ancient or modern, which have become classic standards. Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, E. D. Baker and William Pitt Fessenden, Roscoe Conkling and Oliver P. Morton, have each left in the permanent records of that momentous period convincing testimony that the subject and the occasion then, as in the days of the undisputed supremacy of oratorical power, found worthy and effective utterance. The glory of the battle-field, which these efforts made possible, has been chronicled in merited terms, but the cause has yet to make fitting acknowledgment of its obligation to these great leaders of the public heart and conscience.

The period before the war—that which may properly be termed the preparatory period—illustrates in a striking manner the truth that the standard of oratorical attainment is dependent quite as much upon the subject and the occasion, over which the speaker has no control, as upon the man himself. The great questions at issue, which culminated in the war, were worthy of the highest powers of the most devoted patriot, for they threatened the very life of the Republic. That the orators of those days fall in no particular behind the highest standards cannot be disputed. Sumner and Beecher and Wendell Phillips on the one side, and Yancey and Benjamin and Breckinridge on the other, stirred multitudes, aroused passions, and fired the public heart in terms not less eloquent than the loftiest productions of Fox or Pitt, of Patrick Henry or John Adams.

But when the overshadowing question of slavery and its threatened domination had been put to rest, the subject and the occasion, which had been the inspiration of their eloquence, also passed away, and with them the ability of these orators to hold an old-time audience or pronounce an old-time oration. After the war was over, Wendell Phillips, the most consummate of all platform orators, who had been wont to speak on great living issues to uncounted multitudes, looking down one evening from the stage upon a very thin and scattered audience, exclaimed to a friend by his side, "It is no use. I shall be obliged to purchase a stereopticon." The man was there in complete armor, but there was no great theme or impending peril to kindle the fires in which burning words are forged. Eloquence in a calm is *vox et prœterea nihil*. It is for this reason that platform eloquence, once of a very high order, has so nearly disappeared. When

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the public mind was at a white heat, the material was at the command of the public speaker, and he could mold and weld and shape formidable weapons before which opposition was sure to give way. But he cannot order the material or create the occasion, and therefore the platform orator has little opportunity in days of peace and quiet. There have been attempts in recent years to revive the power of the platform in the service of ephemeral issues which disturb for a little while the otherwise unruffled surface of things, but the effort has been attended with no lasting results, nor has it brought forth any genuine product worthy the name of oratory.

Comparative pulpit oratory, if such a phrase be allowable, furnishes striking proof that the subject and the occasion, more than all else, inspire the speaker and determine the character and place among oratorical efforts of what he utters. The great theme of the pulpit orator, and its vital importance to every listener, remain ever the same, though change shall overtake all else in the lives of men. It waits for no felicitous occasion or unusual emergency, but is always present and imminent, claiming precedence of all else that can appeal to the conscience or judgment. The genius of the speaker is at all times challenged to its utmost in the presentation of the truths it embodies, and is the measure of his rank among those to whom it is committed to promulgate their real significance. Whatever failure, therefore, in maintaining the high rank pulpit oratory has held in the past, can with truth be fastened upon that of the present day, must be laid in large measure at the door of the speaker himself, and little of it can be traced to any other source.

Now what is the fact? Has pulpit oratory declined? Is it weaker in its presentation of the great truths it has in charge?—are its arguments less powerful?—is the language in which they are sent home to the judgment and conscience more feeble, the diction less clear, the imagery less impressive, or the metaphor less striking than in the sermons and addresses of the great divines who have gone before? One would hardly answer these interrogatories in the affirmative. The expounders of religious thought have never spoken in purer or loftier strains of eloquence and power than at the present day.

Congressional oratory, with which I am most familiar, has undergone essential change during the last forty or fifty years. Whether that change has been deterioration and decline, or simply the adoption of new and widely different methods forced upon it by new conditions, will admit of much difference of opinion. The fact can

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hardly be questioned that the ablest orators who were wont, fifty years ago, to hold Congressional halls in breathless silence, for their hour, would be talked out of doors if it were possible to put them in competition with any one of a score of the leading speakers in either House to-day. The mind will no more work under strange conditions than will the muscles in a strange harness. We have but to glance at some of these changes in the conditions forced upon Congressional speakers of the present day to realize how little at home and ill-at-ease an orator of the old school would be, and consequently how poorly he would be likely to acquit himself, if called upon to address the modern House of Representatives in its new hall and under its recent methods.

Those who saw the transfer of the members from the old hall of the House of Representatives to the new one were able to notice at once a marked change in the style and methods of speaking which that transfer compelled them to adopt. The Thirty-fifth Congress met in December, 1857, in the old hall, a beautiful, compact, semi-circular assembly-room, with the Speaker's desk in the centre of the arc, and the members in seats forming concentric half-circles with aisles radiating from the Speaker's chair, each seat being a settee reaching from aisle to aisle, with one continuous desk in front divided into compartments, but extending the entire length of the seats. There were 234 members then, there are 356 now. These filled the seats thus compactly arranged, and were equally under the Speaker's eye, and almost within touch of each member when he spoke. It was in this hall that the great orators of the first fifty years of the Republic, the Clays, Calhouns, Websters, and Choates, and later John Quincy Adams and S. S. Prentiss, spoke. This hall, with all its memories and inspirations, was exchanged for one of several times its area, rectangular in form, with the Speaker's desk midway of one of the sides,—the room being the inside of an iron box dependent on a skylight for its light and on a force-pump for air, with galleries running up the four sides on an inclined plane like flanges, and having a seating capacity for 1,500 people. The seats of the members were scattered over this large area, each with its own separate desk, and so isolated that there was a free passage round each desk, with an open space midway between the rows of seats the entire length of the hall. A committee had reported that the acoustic qualities of the hall were perfect, and that a whisper at the Speaker's desk could be distinctly heard in the remotest corner of the gallery. They were

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silent as to what volume of voice would be necessary to arrest the attention of men on the floor; for no experiment of that kind had been attempted, and the effect of the new habits which were to follow the new conveniences of members had occurred to no one. With the beginning of the new year the members took possession of their seats and of all the conveniences and opportunities that went with them. Is it strange that the first thought of each, as he surveyed his little realm, was business, and that his first order was for a supply of what was necessary for carrying it on, however wide the range or varied the character of its possible demands upon the time or thought of a politician?

If Mr. Gladstone's idea be accepted that the faculty of the orator is "the power of receiving from an audience in vapor what he pours back upon them in a flood," what chance is there for him before such an audience amid such surroundings? It was soon demonstrated. The first speech delivered in the new hall was by one who was well equipped for his part, and had won elsewhere the reputation of a brilliant public speaker. But he made little impression and his speech is forgotten. He caught no inspiration from the place or from the faces of his audience scattered, isolated, listless, warmthless. Others tried it with little better success. The members being furnished with facilities so tempting for the discharge of official duty and other labors, the hall soon assumed the appearance of a Congressional workshop. It became next to impossible for a member on his feet to arrest attention by any oratorical effort however meritorious. Gradually, speaking at length from briefs gave way to written essays read from the desks of members as sermons are from the pulpit.

This transfer from the discomfort of the old hall to the luxury of the new proved too radical a change, and some new arrangement became necessary. Several members who went abroad during the summer vacation came back with the conviction that conformity to the plan of the House of Commons, the substitution of benches for the chairs and desks of members, was the remedy; and a penance little short of hair-cloth and spikes was the penalty. Now a member could not even read a speech with any comfort. This was carrying reform to the other extreme, and it thwarted the very purpose for which it was instituted. The members would not fix their attention on the public business by compulsion, and spent more of their time in complaining of their inconveniences than they bestowed upon what they were assembled to transact. When the hot summer months came

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round, the new close plush-cushioned seats became well-nigh intolerable, and they disappeared at the end of the Congress. The House returned to the original plan of desks and chairs, but re-arranged so that 356 members were seated in the space originally occupied by 234. This arrangement still continues.

There are other changes affecting the chances for oratorical achievement since the days of the old hall, yet to be noticed. The hour rule was in those days an iron rule, and the hammer was as sure as fate to come down on a speaker even in the middle of a sentence. This rule is now so frequently and so easily evaded that it is practically a dead letter. Speeches are now prepared without reference to it, and are spread over as much space in circumlocution, tabulation of figures, and quotations, as time and assistants can command. No man can be eloquent even for an hour, much less for four or five, with "leave to print" at the end. If a speaker knows beforehand that all he can say must be said within his hour, and that nothing can be added beyond that limit, he will study brevity which is the soul of wit, clearness of statement which is the power of argument, simplicity of language which is the key of speech that is effective, and then will stop. It is said that the writing of telegraphic messages, now so common, has brought about a marked improvement in brevity, conciseness, and clearness of style among business men. The reverse is a habit much more easily fallen into, especially when one imagines that his ability is to be measured by his much speaking.

The habit of greeting speakers with applause, which, in this country and especially in Congress, is of recent origin, is having a marked effect upon the character of the oratory of legislative bodies. It was not tolerated for a moment fifty years ago in the House of Representatives, and is not now in the Senate. But it has come to be the daily food of the orators of the House, and every speaker seems to measure his own success by the volume of it which he is able to elicit. Party friends also are always ready to make sure that he does not, in this regard, fall short of any opponent who has preceded him. The consequence is that the temptation to prepare speeches for this effect is too strong to be resisted, and the orator studies all the arts and methods and tricks of diction most calculated to call forth sudden and unrestrained manifestations of approval. The direct effect has been to bring the speaking of legislators to the level of stump oratory on the prairies, where applause serves to fill the sails of the speaker and toss him about as the wind does a dory at sea.

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One will look in vain for true and genuine eloquence in any length of oration delivered under such influences, punctuated though it be with parenthetic outbursts of uncontrolled applause all carefully recorded. The effect upon the character of public speaking has been a great increase in quantity, but a failure to elevate or even sustain the standard of the past in any of the qualities which constitute real oratorical power and true eloquence.

A change in the method of conducting business in legislative bodies, which has become general, must also be taken into account. Legislation by committees, instead of by the whole body, is the prevailing method of the present day. Almost the entire consideration and shaping of the most important measures which now come before legislative bodies is done in the committee room before they are reported for action. Little more than ratification of committee work remains after a measure leaves the committee room. There are exceptions, but this is the rule. Consequently the opportunity for debate is greatly abridged, and for extended oration almost entirely cut off. Nobody ever hears of the oratory or eloquence of a committee room. Add to this modern method that other invention of recent years, which takes up legislation thus prepared in the committee room, and puts it in charge of another committee of three to determine beforehand when it shall be considered by the bodies who are to pass upon it, for how long a time, and in what shape, and by what number of supporters and opponents, to be selected as prize combatants are selected by the opposing sides in a ring, and the hour by the clock when such consideration shall cease,—does any one conceive it possible that anything deserving the name of oratory or eloquence can be the outcome of such a contest? Shackled oratory will surely limp and halt and fail, and drafted or pre-announced oratory will fare no better. A speaker who gives notice beforehand that he is about to be indignant, or that in so many minutes he will proceed to weep, would be as likely to carry his audience with him into agonizing sympathy, as would the legislator called in strait-jacket under such a rule to fill his allotted time and then to yield to another impatient for his turn, while neither the requirement of the argument, nor the inspiration of the theme, but the hammer of the clock above his head is to determine the end of what he is to say.

Oratory should not be confounded with debate in this connection. While the former sometimes breaks out in genuine power, and true eloquence appears in the latter, yet the occasion is rare, and there is a

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vast amount of debate in which there is no oratory. They are distinct faculties. Debate is contention, oratory is persuasion. The one attacks the reasoning powers, the other plays with the emotions; the one would knock down an opponent while the other would charm him. They are not often found working hand in hand. Debate has not suffered as oratory has under the influences which change has wrought on the public life of the country during the last fifty years. On the contrary, the field of controversy has been very much enlarged during that period. Everybody stands ready to dispute everything, and to require a reason for each new step or position in the progressive life we are living. This gives debate its opportunity, and stimulates it to the highest activity. Besides, debate, to be effective, must be concise, direct, and pointed. It cannot be verbose, or wander or soar, if it would hold the ear of this hurrying generation. Life is short, and there is only time to reach for the pith of the matter in hand. The rest is counted as chaff. It stirs the blood, also, bad as well as good, more than any other form of discussion, and a taste of blood always arouses the carnal heart. The very conditions we have been considering as unfavorable to the cultivation and practice of the art of oratory have had the opposite effect upon that of debate. It has become more general in practice, and has attained a higher degree of power and effectiveness, taking the place, in a sort of hand-to-hand contest, of elaborate and lengthy oratorical efforts in support or condemnation of issues arresting public attention. The intensity which, during the war period, wherein every impulse, and every undertaking, every passion and every purpose, were stirred, found voice through this channel rather than through the calmer and more elaborate and studied medium of the prepared oration. It has been equally so during the period which has followed, in which material development and progress have largely absorbed thought and purpose to the exclusion of all things not contributing to this end. In each of these periods the shortest cut to conclusions took precedence of all other methods of determining action. When great interests are staked on promptitude, the public ear will tolerate nothing but yea, yea, and nay, nay. Tropes and metaphors, rhetoric and eloquence are wasted at such times, and the roughest form of expression, if it hits or hurts in accordance with the public pulse, will win its way over all other methods of public address, however polished and elegant.

During the period we have been considering so unpropitious for

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high attainment in oratorical art, there has come into use another method of public address which has little claim to oratorical merit, and is quite in contrast with the method of debate now so universal. It has nevertheless gained such foothold side by side with it, that it cannot be passed over without consideration. The practice of addressing the public by the reading of speeches written out in full beforehand did not originate in a desire to display through this means oratorical power, but rather from a consciousness of a lack of it. I speak of this practice outside the pulpit. Men making no claim to oratorical gifts have nevertheless found themselves in positions which, as they judged, made it incumbent upon them to address the public. And a wise use of the faculties they did possess would seem most naturally to dictate this method. The subject-matter itself is also sometimes of such nature as to require this method of treatment before the public even by an accomplished orator. Outside the limited uses here indicated there has still sprung up a habit of reading to the public written speeches in place of the spoken oration to the extent that it has become the rule and the extempore speech the rare exception. The largest quantity and the poorest quality is thus most easily disposed of, and the market and the taste alike suffer. The supply is inexhaustible, and the ability of the critic to cull from it whatever of value there is in it is baffled in the surfeit. There can be no genuine oratory in such productions, and an eloquent utterance is as rare as a kernel of wheat in the chaff that is scattered by the wind.

Still farther deterioration has this noble and godlike art suffered in legislative bodies of late by that counterfeiting process called "leave to print"—a refuge for the dumb and the simple, whose product, measured by any standard of oratory worthy the name, is of little more value than "green goods." There are exceptions to all rules and there have been orations of great merit, brought before the world by this method, which will survive the accidents of birth and take rank with the best, but they are very rare. Some modest and unostentatious treatment of a great theme or some great thought will rescue such an effort from a mass never read, but merely passed to the credit of the authors by the page or the pound. The public is being over-fed with this cheap food, and it palls the appetite. The effect has been worse than so much waste. It has not only displaced all opportunity for genuine oratory to exert its legitimate influence upon the public mind, pushing it discouraged and disgusted from

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the field, but it has caused a much lower estimate to be put upon the value of that great and rare faculty as a force in the direction of human affairs. The public does not readily distinguish between these lifeless and worthless words which are inundating the land, and those great and grand periods with which orators in the past have swayed multitudes and touched the public conscience. Tired of this kind of talk it would gladly turn its back on all talk. It has come to hunger and thirst for facts that are patent, and new truths which scientific research is daily revealing without the aid of this faculty. The counterfeit has discredited the genuine coin, and both the good and the bad are for the time alike under the ban.

The conditions and influences unfavorable to the maintenance of that high standard of oratory heretofore attained in this country which have been thus far considered may be deemed by some to be incidental and only temporary, likely to cease as change follows change in the order of method and development to which all life among us is subjected. There are, however, other influences, destined to have marked and lasting effect upon the future of public speaking in this country, concerning which there is no ground for belief that they will ever weaken, but on the contrary there is every indication of increasing force and effectiveness. The stenographer, the telegraph, and the daily press, great and all-pervading revolutionary forces in modern life, have not spared this, the noblest of all instrumentalities for influencing the judgment and touching the conscience of mankind. They bring the nation, and sometimes the whole English-speaking world, into the presence of the orator, to be moved by his words or to cast those words out if unworthy. He therefore takes less and less heed of the few in his actual presence, and is led, in what he has to proclaim, to consider more and more its effect upon those beyond the narrow circle of actual vision who will at their leisure critically weigh each word on the printed page almost as soon as he shall have done. This has a direct effect upon prepared oratorical effort. Random, unpremeditated public speech is not caught up and sent abroad. That alone which promulgates some striking thought in attractive color, some argument in new armor, or some new problem of life, is taken up by these new forces and carried to the understanding of multitudes miles away. This leads every one who would speak to the generations, and not to the groundlings merely, to make more careful preparation.

Contrast these opportunities and aids of high oratorical art of the

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present day with the conditions with which it was surrounded fifty years ago. When Webster pronounced that greatest of his orations, the reply to Hayne, there was no power printing-press in existence, nor railroad in this country, nor was the telegraph thought of, and what we call stenography was not known till nearly ten years afterward. While there is no doubt that Mr. Webster spoke after long and profound study of his subject, yet he was compelled to speak at last without opportunity for immediate preparation, and from a brief hardly more than a modern sheet of note-paper. And when he was done, all that remained on paper of that grandest of English orations was this brief and the imperfect and detached notes taken by Mr. Seaton by a method of his own which would now be discarded as useless. With this brief and these notes, and by the help of his wife, who had listened to the speech and could recall its most striking passages, and also by aid of Mr. Webster's own recollections, Mr. Seaton undertook the work of writing out this unsurpassed effort. Friends who were listeners were called in, and paragraph after paragraph submitted to the test of their memory, and altered or rewritten as doubts were thrown on the accuracy of the original draft. They were called in also to aid in the choice of phrases and sentences the most impressive, regardless of the original notes. It was not until a month after its delivery that this work of reproduction was completed and the speech first published as it now appears, even in a Washington newspaper. The public was kept in waiting for this long period before it could read and weigh this great argument, the fame of which, as described by those who had listened to it, had spread far and wide. It was nearly six weeks before anything beyond what was in letters of friends, and fugitive extracts produced from memory, reached Boston. If Mr. Webster could re-enter the Senate Chamber to-day and speak as he did then, before he could resume his seat untold multitudes from Portland in Maine to Portland in Oregon would be reading what he had said. The speech of that day was delivered to the Senate and to those within the sound of the orator's voice. It was its extraordinary character alone that rescued it for the country and the coming generations. Mr. Winthrop says that Mr. Webster spared no labor in the writing out of his speech after delivery, to make it as perfect and impressive as possible to readers in all coming time as it had been to hearers at the moment, in order to satisfy a public expectation not justified by the shorthand report of Mr. Seaton. This report is still preserved in the Boston

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Library, so that every reader of the speech in its present form can appreciate the value of the final finish. This great example makes clear the necessity which forces the most gifted orator to conform to the changes of condition which surround him. This final finishing of sentences and phrases, this re-statement of argument after delivery, is not possible now. If done at all they must be done before the orator speaks, for every sentence is transferred with photographic accuracy to paper, and published to the world by the stenographer as soon as it falls from the lips of the speaker, passing instantly beyond recall.

Another illustration, taken from the practice of speakers in that same Senate Chamber more than twenty years later, will make more clear the methods forced upon the most gifted orators by conditions with which they are surrounded. It will also show how they have been compelled, as these conditions have become more effective, to greater care and painstaking beforehand to guard against the effect of possible slips, hesitations, and tripping in speech and argument which, once made, could never be recalled. In the summer of 1852 I visited Washington, reaching there on the day on which Mr. Seward read from manuscript one of those orations full of profound political philosophy, and eloquent in the enforcement of great political truths, for which he was so justly celebrated. In the evening I called with many others to pay my respects and offer my congratulations. Among these callers was Mr. Sumner, whose first political speech had then been waited for by impatient friends for some time. As he offered to Mr. Seward very warm and hearty congratulations and commendations of the speech just delivered, Mr. Seward remarked to him, "By the way, Sumner, where is that speech you were going to make? I thought you would have delivered it before now." Mr. Sumner replied, "I have it all written out, but I have n't committed it to memory perfectly yet." Here were two great and justly celebrated orators, but of distinctly different types, and each found himself compelled to train his peculiar powers for the most effective work in subordination to surrounding conditions. Mr. Seward had none of the graces and could practise none of the arts in delivery which win and captivate and chain the hearer, and never turned aside to attempt either. Mr. Sumner was in his delivery richly endowed with the highest qualities of the oratorical art. The one was listened to because no one could afford to lose a word he uttered, while the consummate oratory of the other, as well as the matter of his oration itself, won the hearer to his side. Thus, by writing out in full be-

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forehand with great care and elaboration what they had to say, they were both able to secure every word and phrase and sentence for all who may hereafter read them in the precise form and shape they chose, on the fullest deliberation, to have them presented; while Mr. Sumner, by committing his production to memory, was able to add to the force of the argument itself all the grace and art and fire of oratory of which he was so consummate a master. This last was Mr. Everett's method during his entire public life, and his last great oration on Washington was in manuscript at home while he was reciting it in all parts of the country from memory with all the grace and eloquence and polish of diction that had been fashioned and put upon paper with care in his own study. But the exacting duties of his public service compelled Mr. Sumner early to give up this laborious practice of committing his speeches to memory, and, except in debate, led him to deliver from manuscript whatever he had prepared to speak at any length. While, for the reasons given, public speakers have come more and more to the method of committing to paper beforehand whatever they design to present to the public on important occasions, the practice of reciting from memory is passing out of use and is seldom resorted to by any noted speaker of the present day. All conditions and influences have for many years tended directly to the substitution of the manuscript for the extempore delivery of speeches.

From this inquiry the conclusion is evident. The lack of interest in the old ways of the orator, and their gradual disuse by public speakers, which have been cited as evidence of the decay of the art itself, are really but changes in method forced upon them by the new conditions and influences which have superseded and driven the old out of use. The orator has not command of the conditions of success; he is more their servant than their master, and must wait upon them, not they upon him. "The man, the subject, and the occasion" is the order in which Webster places the three great elements essential for the attainment of the highest triumphs of oratory. This order should be reversed, if there can be any order where each is indispensable. Given the subject and the occasion—the exigency and the opportunity—and the man has never yet failed the nation in all its history, while, for lack of these, great oratorical power has waited and slumbered. These are the trumpet-calls to which the brain-power and the soul of the orator will respond, and they will wait on no other summons. There is no occasion to lose faith in his future because we do not find him in his old haunts or hear him

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making vain efforts on old instruments long since out of tune. He is not a plaything for the entertainment of an hour, but a force capable of great achievements. Like the poet, he is born, not made; and the rare faculties with which he is endowed, given to the few, are withheld from the many, but they are still given in as large measure as ever. They wait for great exigencies and fitting opportunities. When these shall arise they will come forth with unimpaired power. That power will not be put forth in old-time methods and it may not be for old-time uses. But these faculties, like all others with which man is endowed, are destined for a higher state of development and perfection, and, whenever the need shall be upon them, will assert an advanced rank and a wider influence than ever yet attained.

HENRY L. DAWES.

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IS THE BRITISH EMPIRE STABLE?

THE British Empire is a political creation unparalleled in the world's history, not only by its extent and population, in both which respects it is slightly surpassed by China, but because, with an area of more than 10,000,000 square miles and with 352,000,000 inhabitants, it is scattered over the whole globe. Starting westward from Queenstown, we land at Halifax on English soil; the Canadian Pacific Railway carries us across the whole American continent to Port Moody; we cross the Pacific to Hong-Kong, and thence reach North Borneo, Singapore, and Calcutta. Passing by rail through India, we meet, in continuing our road from Bombay, the British settlements in the Persian Gulf, Aden, Perim, Suakim, and Berbera in the Red Sea; Egypt and Cyprus are practically in English hands; the rocks of Malta form the central station of the naval British power in the Mediterranean, of which Gibraltar guards the entrance. And such a voyage leaves untouched numerous important parts of the Empire, East Africa, Mauritius, Zanzibar, the dominion of the Cape, the settlements on the western coast of Africa, the British Antilles, the Bahamas, Guiana, Honduras, the Falkland Islands, and Australia.

This extensive Empire embraces all zones from the icy wildernesses of Hudson Bay to the tropical jungles of India and the mahogany forests of Honduras; there is scarcely a product which a British province does not bring forth in excellent quality; and not less various are the degrees of civilization of its inhabitants, from the Kaffirs of the Cape to the highly cultivated citizens of Toronto or Sydney. We find, with Christians of all confessions, 200,000,000 Hindus, about 70,000,000 Mohammedans, and 8,000,000 Buddhists; and the Bible is printed in 130 languages and dialects represented in the Empire. India and the Crown colonies are under an absolute government; Canada and the Australian States enjoy democratic constitutions; Quebec is a French-speaking province; in the Cape colony the Dutch nationality prevails,—yet, notwithstanding such promiscuously tessellated elements, the government, with rare exceptions, maintains order, and no sign of dissolution is visible.

It is evident that such an Empire must be pre-eminently colonial:

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of its total area the mother-country occupies scarcely one-eightieth, and counts about one-ninth of the whole population; and London, with its 4,500,000 inhabitants, is the capital of the vast aggregate of countries which acknowledge British sovereignty. What is still more remarkable is that this Empire should be a comparatively young one. It took the Romans nearly a thousand years to build up a state which, at the time of its highest development, was small compared to the present English commonwealth, while the beginnings of Great Britain are scarcely two hundred years old. In the age of the discovery of the New World, England took no part in the conquests made by Spain, Portugal, and Holland; the buccaneering raids upon Spanish settlements under Elizabeth can be considered only as an apprenticeship for British seamanship. It was the religious persecution under the Stuarts which first led to the establishment of the colonies of Virginia, New England, and Maryland, to which, under Charles II., were added the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. But it was Cromwell who, by the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards, became the real founder of that policy which led to such success.

The principle of the colonial policy of those times—a principle long followed by England—was to extort as much profit as possible from transatlantic possessions for the mother-country. But this system at last became impossible by reason of two great facts. The first was the rapid growth of the United States. As, in their vast dominion, immigrants found the freest economical motion and full possession of all political rights, the same could not be refused to the British colonies with a population of European descent; and Canada, the Australian settlements, and the Cape received autonomy and free constitutions. This was rendered the more necessary by the second fact,—the changed condition of the immigration into these colonies. When the Pilgrim Fathers settled in North America, England was not overcrowded; they went to live on creeds which were not tolerated at home. But when the mother-country became too small for its fast-increasing population, emigration began, and thousands crossed the ocean in order to find new chances in life and to live under free institutions. The happy results of this colonial development reacted on the mother-country: the privileged commercial companies were suppressed; the civil disabilities of Catholics and Dissenters were abolished; the navigation act, the corn laws, and protective duties were repealed; and English industry and commerce as well as colonial growth underwent an unparalleled expansion.

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When, in 1836, the first white settlers came to Victoria, they found but camps of the aborigines; now the colony has more than 1,000,000 inhabitants, and Melbourne is the fourth city of the British Empire. New Zealand, where 60 years ago the Maoris held their war-dances and devoured their prisoners, now has 700,000 inhabitants. All the Australian colonies have a population of 4,000,000, with a budget of £30,000,000 and a total commerce of £144,000,000. Canada, also, which, unlike Australia, had no gold to attract immigrants, shows a rapid growth. Its commerce in 1891–92 amounted to $250,000,000, and is fast increasing, owing to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which is now the shortest route from England to eastern Asia. Moreover the progress of these countries is backed by well-nigh inexhaustible resources. The Cape Colony is constantly expanding; it has now a population of 2,000,000, and its mines of gold promise to become the richest of the world. These great provinces will speedily become powerful nations which in future times may outweigh in importance many of the present European states. At the same time there seems no prospect of their separation from the mother-country, with which they are connected by language, blood, religion, a common civilization, and strong material bonds.

England is day by day more dependent upon colonial purchasers. Australia buys British manufactures at the rate of £8 per head; the Canadians at the rate of £2 per head; while Frenchmen buy 9*s.* 3*d.* a head, and the Germans 8*s.* 4*d.* The colonies, on their side, furnish large quantities of food and raw materials to England. It must not be forgotten that in these colonies, as well as in all others, property to an enormous extent is in English hands. All colonial public debts have been borrowed in London; railways and public works have been constructed mainly by English money; vast British capital has been sunk in mortgages on colonial land and its cultivation; and 88 per cent of Australian shipping belongs to English owners.

But it must not be presumed that in the face of this peaceful expansion England has abandoned her policy of enlarging her foreign possessions by force and diplomacy. Leaving out of consideration the extension of the South African colony, which is greatly due to conquest, and notwithstanding many backslidings, her expansion is still going on, as the following acquisitions testify: the Strait-Settlements, in 1819; the Falkland Islands, 1837; Aden, 1839; Hong-Kong, 1843; Labuan, 1846; Perim, 1855; Lagos, 1861; the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast, 1872; the Fiji Islands, 1879; Delagoa Bay,

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1881; North Borneo, 1883; a large part of New Guinea, 1884; the Nigerland, 1886; Zanzibar and British East Africa, 1890; Uganda, 1894; not forgetting Cyprus and Egypt. The same policy has prevailed in the Indian Empire, which surpasses in importance all British colonies and forms the very centre of gravity of England's power.

Ethnographically speaking, India holds a population of 291,000,000, inhabiting the peninsula up to the northern and western mountain ranges; politically it means the British dominion over this vast mass of men, in which it forms the sole connecting link. The English are the ruling caste, but a caste consisting of an infinitely small minority of scarcely 200,000. If, nevertheless, they are implicitly obeyed by this population of different races and creeds, so that a sole Resident administers districts of 2,000,000 inhabitants without ever encountering resistance, the reason is to be found in the masterly organization of the government. By its nature it is autocratic, but the autocracy is an intelligent absolutism resting upon a bureaucracy carefully trained for its task. It secures order and liberty to all creeds, but suppresses energetically all aggressive manifestations of one against another, and at the same time has done away with some of the most offensive excrescences of religious fanaticism. By skilful irrigation and a railway network of 17,283 miles, and by promoting industry and trade, the wealth of the country has been greatly developed. While formerly whole regions were decimated by famine, India has now become one of the foremost wheat-exporting states; its total commerce is £195,500,000. The government has established an efficient system of education: every village has its school managed according to race and creed, and every district a higher school; there are 82 colleges with 9,000 students, directed by three universities. Lastly, the government possesses an excellent army having a British nucleus of 73,000 combined with 125,000 natives, to which, in time of war, contingents of the semi-independent princes are added.

Leaving aside the minor colonies, even this bird's-eye view shows what a mighty edifice is this constantly expanding British Empire. Yet, as it is not a compact mass like the United States or Russia, but, by its dissemination over all parts of the world, forms a highly complicated and artificial structure, it is eminently vulnerable and exposed to special dangers. If peace should prevail for an indefinite period, there would be probably little chance of seeing its integrity impaired; but as we cannot hope to have entered upon this millennium, war remains the great test of the strength of states. The principal Con-

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tinental governments are prolific in peaceful assurances, and, notwithstanding their colossal armaments, they are probably sincere. Unfortunately these assurances do not add much to the confidence of the nations, because many causes for conflict exist, and it remains very doubtful whether this prolonged tension and the oppressive economical strain of this military preparedness will not result in an outbreak which under existing circumstances would assume such tremendous proportions that England could scarcely remain neutral. As a single example we may take the chance of a war in the Mediterranean, where France and probably Russia would be opposed to Italy and Austria, while England has declared that she cannot suffer an alteration of the *status quo*. The question, therefore, cannot be avoided, how in such a case she will be able to weather the storm.

In this respect we must first consider that circumstances have totally changed since the times in which she obtained her position as a great world-power. Then armies were comparatively small, and the English, strengthened by paid foreign auxiliaries, could play a prominent part; but now, in the face of the enormous Continental armies raised by universal service, the English army, which adheres to the principle of free enlistment, dwindles into next to nothing. This was seen in the Crimean war, when with all her exertions England could put into the field little more than 50,000 men, who fought with gallantry but could have achieved nothing without their allies. Since this experience the government has abstained from active interference in the great struggles which have changed the map of Europe; nay, it tamely submitted when Russia, during the Franco-German war, arbitrarily denounced the neutralization of the Black Sea, which had been one of the most important clauses of the treaty of Paris. After the treaty of San Stefano, Lord Salisbury, indeed, declared that England would not tolerate its execution; but while two army-corps sent to Constantinople would have sufficed to annihilate the decimated Russian army, the government contented itself with dispatching the fleet and a few Indian regiments to the Bosporus, and then quietly went to the Congress of Berlin. After the Congress, Lord Beaconsfield declared that if England had spoken decisively there would have been no war; but she did not speak decisively, and the net result of the peace with honor was that England pocketed Cyprus. The Egyptian expedition of 1882 may appear as an exception to this policy; but when Mr. Gladstone, forced by public opinion, undertook it, he had not to fear resistance from other powers.

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Apart from this short campaign, which offers no proof of what an English army could do against trained European troops, England's policy has been to avoid conflicts, and it was but natural that her rivals should profit by this tendency. Both France and the United States have treated her with little ceremony in recent disputes, but it was Russia, above all, who profited by the certainty that England would not go to war, by her conquest of Central Asia. The successive strides she made in this direction gave great uneasiness to English statesmen; but they did not offer any active opposition, and allowed themselves to be lured by the promises of Prince Gortschakoff—which were broken as soon as they were given—and by negotiations which proved abortive. A Russian general appearing at Kabul, in order to conclude an alliance with the Ameer of Afghanistan for the invasion of India, while a Russian army was advancing from Samarcand for the same purpose, forced Lord Salisbury to meet Russia's demands half way by a secret convention with Count Schouvaloff; but meanwhile the Russians steadily advanced through deserts hitherto believed inaccessible, until they stood at the Afghan frontier, and soon afterward, under the eyes of the British commissary, ejected the Afghans from Penjdeh. After protracted negotiations the Afghan frontier was at last settled, and Russia not only remained in possession of Penjdeh, but advanced three miles nearer to Herat.

In recent times England has done much to redeem the faults of the past. As long as India was surrounded by deserts, there was little danger in her limits being undefined; but with the approach of Russia, her interest in the intervening countries has enormously increased. After discovering that the Himalayas, hitherto believed unsurmountable, had passes by which the Russians might advance from the north, Gilgit, a place in the Pamirs of great strategical importance, was occupied. When strategical roads are completed, the Indian army will be able to outflank a Russian advance from Herat; and as the western frontier has been greatly strengthened, and a railway built to Quetta, from which Candahar can be easily reached, a Russian attack, carried on so far from its strategical base, would seem to have little chance for success.

But if India be considered safe against Russia alone, there is danger of its being placed between two fires. The French desire to balance in Indo-China the position they formerly lost on the Ganges peninsula; they have conquered Cochin-China, Annam, Cambodia, and Tonquin, and in 1893 they compelled Siam to cede the whole

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territory on the left bank of the Mekong. Economically these conquests are worthless to France, because she has no colonists, and the commerce is in English and German hands. But from the political and military points of view her new position is of considerable importance, particularly because she acts in concert with Russia.

Admitting that France would have great difficulty in bringing a respectable army into the field in Asia,—that on the contrary a strong English squadron could render French Indo-China as isolated as Tahiti,—the very fact of her aggressive policy, like that of Russia, is disquieting to the Indian population, which is already swayed at one moment by gusts of Eastern fanaticism, and at another, in its higher classes, by Western ideas of the most advanced type. In time of peace the government may easily keep downt urbulent feelings, as Islam and Hinduism—the one stronger in faith, the other in numbers—create a sort of equilibrium. But if, in a great war, a mutiny should coincide with foreign aggression, the government would have to rely mainly upon the army against both.

Turning to the other colonies, we have to distinguish between the naval and military stations,—such as Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Hong-Kong, Esquimault, Halifax, Bermuda, or coaling-stations, as the Seychelles, Singapore, etc.,—which are supported as garrisons for imperial purposes, and those which are empires themselves,—Canada, Australia, and the Cape. Their defence on land is based upon the principle that, as they risk being involved in England's wars with other powers, the obligation exists to protect them within certain limits; so the government sends out a certain force which garrisons the important strategical positions, and forms at the same time a nucleus around which the colonists can rally, and which assists them in their military organization. Of the three, the Cape has probably the least to fear: access is difficult for foreign squadrons; it has no powerful hostile neighbors; and, independently of its garrison, it possesses a force of sturdy volunteers trained in wars with the natives. As to Australia, an invasion seems equally impossible, but its numerous ports have to rely mainly on the protection of the British fleet.

It is different with the Dominion of Canada, which alone of the three has a neighbor, the strength of which compared to its own is about ten to one. The loyalty of its population cannot be doubted, and when, in 1862, a conflict with the United States was threatened in the "Trent" affair, all classes showed their determination to maintain their allegiance, although the terrors of war would in the

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first instance have fallen upon themselves. But it must not be forgotten that the United States could not then have spared an army to invade Canada. If, however, a war between England and the great Republic should now take place, Canada would undoubtedly be doomed. Such a war is extremely unlikely: that of 1812 was mainly due to the impolitic conduct of the British government; and although the two nations have sometimes seemed to be on the verge of war, their disputes have always been peacefully adjusted. In a war with other foreign powers England would take good care not to violate American interests, and the United States would adhere to its policy of non-interference in foreign conflicts.

As regards naval and military stations, they have first to rely upon the strength of their fortifications, which varies greatly; but principally upon the support of the fleet, without which most of their garrisons could be starved. All minor colonies are in a similar position, and this leads to the key of the situation: namely, *that the British Empire as it stands is safe only so long as it has supremacy at sea;* that defeat at sea would be an unmeasured catastrophe and national ruin.

What is supremacy at sea? An unvanquished fleet against which the attack of the enemy has no chance. But here again circumstances are totally changed. When England, in the Napoleonic war, had destroyed the French and Spanish and captured the Danish fleets, she was the omnipotent mistress of the sea and had the monopoly of commerce, which furnished the sinews sustaining the war. Her naval supremacy remained uncontested up to comparatively recent times. Even in 1846 Lord Palmerston could threaten in Paris that England would sweep the French fleet from the seas; but since the Second Empire the latter has made constant progress, and it cannot be doubted that at present it is a very formidable power. Besides, Russia, Germany, Italy, Austria, and the United States have respectable fleets. The Admiralty report of 1890 states that in 1807 England had 207 battle-ships, and all other powers 180, whereas now she has but 45 real battle-ships, while France has 34 and Russia 15. Of first-class cruisers she has 18, the two other powers 9 and 11; of armored coast-defence vessels she has 17, of which 8 are permanently abroad, France has 14, and Russia 16. The House of Commons indeed has, by the Naval Defence Act of 1888, increased the fleet by 70 ships, which will be finished now, and has unanimously voted (April 11, 1894) £30,000,000 for an extraordinary addition to the

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navy in order to make it strong enough to face the coalition of any two powers. Mr. Goschen declared that then England alone would be equal to any emergency; but whether that would be the case remains to be seen, for if the British fleet is the strongest, it has also to fulfil an exceptional task of exceptional magnitude. Captain Mahan[1] insists on the necessity of concentration of effort; and he is certainly right, as the command of the sea can be secured only by victory in great pitched battles. But such a concentration is particularly difficult for England, having her fleet scattered in ten stations for protecting her colonies and commercial interests; and if these are to be defended against hostile expeditions they can only partially be drawn upon to strengthen the central force. The distances of some of these squadrons would render it difficult to bring them on the spot in the right time, whereas France has the greatest part of her navy concentrated at Toulon and Brest.

Blockades are now of little importance except against powers which have no navy to defend themselves. The use of steam renders a blockade much stricter than in the time of sailing-ships; but blockading squadrons must be constantly supplied with coal, while the blockaded ships can easily replenish their bunkers, can choose the moment for attack, have considerable advantages for the use of torpedoes, and may retire to give their companies rest, while the crews of the blockading squadron are worn out by fatigue. After Trafalgar the British were able to shut up the French warships in their ports for years, but an effectual blockade is to-day so difficult that, according to Admiral Sir Geoffrey Hornby, all the ironclads of England would not be able to blockade Toulon.

Capturing the enemy's merchantmen and national cargoes can certainly do much harm, but its advantage has been exaggerated. In our days, as soon as war is declared, the telegraph informs all ships liable to seizure, and they enter the nearest national or neutral port; the result being that the whole commerce of the belligerents goes into neutral hands, because their flag covers the cargo. This would be particularly the case with England, as her navy is not able to protect her commercial marine, amounting in 1891, with that of the colonies, to 26,085 ships of 12,427,596 registered tons and £970,000,000 of sea-borne trade. To protect this vast host of vessels scattered over the waters of the globe, there are 111 cruisers adapted to such service. In the next great war she has to sustain, England will

[1] "The Influence of Sea-Power upon the French Revolution and Empire," 1892.

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realize that by her insular position she is in a condition differing from all other countries. The latter, when their maritime communications are cut, can draw their supplies by rail, but England alone must import goods only by sea, and importation is an absolute necessity. While in 1803 the import of corn was three per cent, it now reaches two-thirds of what she requires to feed her population. In the same way English industry would come to a standstill if the import of raw materials was arrested. According to Lord George Hamilton's calculation, England has to draw the food of her population for 189 days from foreign parts, and an interruption of the import of raw materials would throw 5,000,000 workmen out of employment. The "Quarterly Review," April, 1894, admits that the stopping of imports would suffice "to starve us into making an ignominious peace with the enemy at his own terms."

The probable enemies of England know perfectly that this is England's most vulnerable point, and they would do all in their power to intercept the supply of provisions, while their own commerce would be much less exposed to English attacks, because they could lay up their ships in port. Admiral Elliot has declared that the great expense incurred by France and Russia in building swift cruisers is mainly directed against British commerce. Admitting that the enemies of England would not be able to reduce her population to starvation, they could still inflict upon it great harm, and this question does not belong to the future, but is imminent.

We leave out of consideration a real invasion of England. Although Lord Wolseley, in 1888, thought it quite possible that the French within a short time might collect a considerable force in their northern ports and transport it in one night, French naval authorities are of contrary opinion,[1] for in order to undertake such a perilous adventure the assailant must at all events have the absolute command of the Channel; and the same applies to Admiral Aube's barbarous plan of small cruisers, ubiquitous by speed and numbers, evading the hostile force and destroying undefended cities.

The decisive point remains the strength of the English battle-fleet; and what this is even the naval experts are not able to say. War alone can decide that question. The strength of a fleet for attack and defence depends not only upon that of the ships and their

[1] Admiral de la Réveillère, in an article in the "Marine Française" of 1893, said: "Aucune personne de bon sens ne songera à nous voir assez maîtres de la Manche pour opérer un debarquement et pour ravitailler une armée debarquée."

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number, but quite as much upon its armament and manning. In this respect the English battle-ships have recently shown unpleasant shortcomings. The 110-ton Armstrong and the 68-ton Woolwich guns have proved inferior to French and German guns; and the recruiting system does not furnish a sufficient number of trained crews. England on a peace-footing has but 44,000 men, a force which cannot be suddenly increased. While France, employing in peace 25,000, has a reserve of 113,000 trained and disciplined men, England has a nominal reserve of 23,000, of which only a small part would be available when wanted. Even if the whole reserve force could be collected, the greater part are very imperfectly trained and would be quite new to the life and exercises of a man-of-war. Other merchant seamen, if there were any to be had, would be still more ignorant, so that beyond the 44,000 England has only the coast-guard on which dependence can be placed. Even the quality of the enlisted men decreases. Accidents have become frequent: the "Howe" in 1892 ran ashore in clear weather; the catastrophe of the "Victoria" and the "Camperdown" is still fresh in the memory; in the naval review of 1889 there were three collisions; and in the manœuvres of 1891 only three ships of the defensive squadron came out without accident. Ironclads being very complicated instruments, the handling of which demands thoroughly experienced men, this deficiency must render the mobilization of the fleet slow. In the manœuvres at Toulon in 1891 the French Mediterranean squadron was ready to take the sea twenty-four hours after the order had arrived, and had a reserve division of twenty-four ships.

As to fortifications, only the Thames is efficiently defended; those of the other ports are antiquated in construction and armament. If the enemy could take Woolwich, the whole material of the fleet would be in its hands. Shortly before the Russo-Turkish conflict Lord Beaconsfield said that if England once went to war her resources would be practically inexhaustible; but the question is, whether she would have time to develop those resources.

To-day the fate of war is decided by a few great battles. France, after the peace of 1871, has shown of what resources she is possessed; yet after a six-months campaign Thiers was obliged to declare to the Assembly of Bordeaux, "La France reconnait qu'elle n'a plus d'armée." It is the same in maritime war. Two great defeats would be fatal to the naval power of England, which is in fact her only power. It remains to be seen whether the above-mentioned deficien-

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cies will be removed in time by the recent Imperial and Naval Defence Acts.

The British Empire has been built up under the leadership of an intelligent aristocracy, a form of government which, as the example of Venice and Holland shows, is eminently fit for such a task. That aristocracy still exists, but it has long since ceased to govern. Gradually England has passed down to a crowned democracy. But it cannot be said that the experiment, first to give power to the masses and then to "educate our masters," has particularly well succeeded. It is one thing to give manhood suffrage to a new country, where the largest part of the population is agricultural, mostly owners of their farms, well educated, and therefore conservative; and another thing to grant it in England, where more than fifty per cent of the population live in cities, and the landed property is in the hands of comparatively few large owners and is cultivated by poor laborers. Under such circumstances the masses not only rule the elections, but practically disfranchise the higher, more intelligent, and wealthy classes. The English democracy has disappointed its friends; it has not brought forward a single notable man; it has not cared much for Imperial interests, which by its leaders are ridiculed as "jingoism," but mainly for the class-interests of the workingmen. Moreover it is swayed by sudden changes: one parliamentary election can overthrow a whole policy; and this is the reason why foreign powers are little inclined to conclude alliances with England. In former wars, England, in order to make up for the insufficiency of her army, gave subsidies to her allies; but what British Minister would now have the courage to demand such grants from Parliament?

Will the English democracy, in the face of the dangers of the present situation, have the intelligence to see that in a war not only England's greatness, but the very existence of her Empire, would be at stake? Will, in that emergency, the old fighting spirit of John Bull revive in the masses, and make them ready to bear the necessary sacrifices? Or will they follow the cry for peace at any price, and adhere to Cobden's opinion that it would be a perilous adventure to hold India, and that the colonies are only good for providing places for the younger sons of the aristocracy? That is the question which will ultimately be decisive for the future of the British Empire.

F. Heinrich Geffcken.

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FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS IN MY SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

A SCIENTIFIC person dislikes creeds. Science is not religious revelation but a progressive unfolding of truth. When I am asked, "What is your social creed?" I naturally reply, "I have no creed." When the editor of THE FORUM asks me for an article on my creed, I am obliged to answer that I have none. What have I to do with a creed in economics or, more strictly speaking, general sociology? For it is in reality a sociological creed that is wanted.

Yet more mature thought reveals to the man of science that he may after all go too far in his opposition to a statement of his opinions. As the result of his studies, and, in a case like the present, also of his experiences in life, he may have reached certain conclusions of value to others. There may be no impropriety in a statement of these conclusions provided it is understood that he reserves the right to change his opinions if longer investigation and riper experience reveal mistakes. It is in this spirit that I consent to state briefly my views concerning some of the most fundamental problems presented by modern society in the United States.

No economic topic of a practical nature occupies a more prominent position in the public mind at the present moment, than strikes. What do I think about strikes? When we review industrial history it is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that strikes have been a necessary evil. They are a species of warfare and must be viewed somewhat in the same light in which we look at war in general. War has been a terrible scourge to the human race and has brought in its train more misfortunes, both to victors and vanquished, than people generally understand. At the same time it has frequently happened that war has been preferable to other evils, and no historian could be found who would deny that it has produced, along with vast wretchedness and misery, some good results. Not all strikes have been failures, and it has happened before this that the firm resistance of employees to wrong and oppression has been productive of results valuable alike to themselves and their employers. An orderly, well-

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conducted strike implies labor organizations, and labor organizations in their earlier period find their chief activity in industrial warfare and in the preparations for such warfare. The older trades-union was largely an organization of men bound together to accomplish their purposes by means of actual strikes or threats of strikes. I say "largely" because other purposes and very important ones have always been connected with labor organizations of any importance.

But conditions have changed. Formerly the trades and occupations of wage-earners were so distinct and separate that those employed in any one craft need have little reference in their struggles to wage-earners outside of their own ranks. Machinery has changed all that and broken down the barriers between the various occupations of wage-earning men and women. When the shoemakers in the great shops in Massachusetts have struck, they have been replaced with comparatively little difficulty by farmers' sons and daughters never before in a manufacturing establishment, and in a few months, if not indeed in a few weeks, the employers have been able to carry on their work as well as before. It seems clear, then, that the very foundation on which old-fashioned striking trades-unions rested has given way. The field of their operations seems to be a more restricted one than has been supposed by those who have considered merely older conditions. Labor organizations are a necessity, but they should change their methods to correspond to our present economic life, making more of other features than heretofore and less of strikes.

When we come to certain primary institutions like railways, telegraphs, gas-works, and the like, upon the continuous operation of which the general welfare is dependent in marked degree, the public interest becomes paramount, and public authority, if it discharge its functions, will not tolerate strikes. Anarchy means no government, and it is genuine anarchy for a great community to stand quietly by while undertakings of fundamental importance are paralyzed by the strife of different parties engaged in their operation. There is every reason why society should not tolerate such suffering as this involves. What we have recently witnessed in railway strikes is barbarism and not civilization. We should not, in this matter, allow a discussion of abstract rights to interfere with determined action which will prevent the recurrence of events like those referred to, which are nothing less than a national disgrace and humiliation. Some way or another, these peculiarly public industries must be kept in continuous

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operation, and this must be effected while ample protection is afforded to all interests involved. If wrong and injustice are done to employees, effective means must be discovered to remedy them without a disturbance of domestic peace.

But this statement of the problem—that is to say, continuous operation of the industries in question and justice to all interests involved, capital and labor alike—calls to mind practical difficulties which industrial civilization in general, but especially in our own country, has met, and which we have to overcome. Let us always remember that we are Americans and dealing with American conditions. A solution of the problem which in the case under consideration might perhaps be found in England or Germany, may be no solution at all in the United States. Without sharing in any anti-English sentiment, it seems to me that our writers on economic topics, especially our writers of text-books, have forgotten the elementary fact just stated, and have been too exclusively under the influence of English thought; and that they have not supplemented what they have learned from English masters, by a large and varied American experience. The conduct of some of our writers resembles that of an inventor who, having constructed a large and expensive machine, should become enraged because it would not perform the purpose which called it into being. The inventor says: "It ought to work. It conforms to the principles of the books. It is a shame and an outrage that it does not work as it should." But we reply: "My dear fellow, all your talk and all your rage do not alter the main fact. You have overlooked either some principle or some peculiarity in your material. We do not want your machine." Writers and speakers are filled with indignant amazement because the ordinary rules which govern the relations between employed and employers, and between both and the general public, do not hold in the case of these industries with which we are dealing. Is not the reason because we have overlooked fundamental principles and fundamental facts? Let us see.

The peculiarly public industries with which we are dealing are the so-called natural monopolies. Two or three are national in the scope of their operation, some are chiefly local in their activity, while a few are too extensive to be called local, but are not nevertheless strictly national in character. Roughly, they correspond to our three chief political units, the nation, the commonwealth, and the town or city. These undertakings are: streets and highways of all sorts,

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the means of communication and transportation, and lighting-plants. Every one thinks of course, of railways, telegraphs, telephones, harbors, canals, street cars, elevated urban railways, gasworks, electric-lighting plants. These are monopolies because they can be managed as a unit, and competition is so partial that it does not afford adequate protection to the public. All rivalry and emulation are by no means excluded Monopoly does not mean that, but it does mean an absence of adequate protection to important public interests. Moreover, reference is had to these industries in their maturity, not in their early stages of development. Railways, in our country, give difficulty to those who do not grasp the principles of monopoly, because our railway systems are not yet fully developed, although every fair-minded person will admit that even now they are not regulated by normal competition, which excludes destructive industrial war as well as combination. Naturally we cannot enter upon the very difficult theory of monopoly, and attempt to elaborate it. Much work remains to be done before we have a complete theory of monopoly, and the treatment of this subject would require a large work if it approached exhaustiveness. Nevertheless some things have been made clear.

Experience in the United States has demonstrated that there are two—and only two—ways of dealing with monopolies. We have, in the main, a choice only between private ownership and operation with control by government, and government ownership and operation. One or the other our courts and our legislatures have decided we must have; and their decision has been wise, as it has been forced on them by hard facts Waterworks in our cities very generally illustrate government ownership and operation, whereas our railways afford illustration of control by government united with private ownership and operation. Government control simply takes the place of the regulation by competition which obtains in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. This control is, by the necessities of the case, pushed further and further every day. It has not yet included labor; but as the principles of monopoly must in time make themselves fully felt in the relation of the industries in question to labor, and as public interests are paramount, as already indicated, it can be only a question of time when what we have seen in the efforts of the courts to keep our railways in operation will be further developed. Whatever we otherwise think of the injunctions recently issued by the courts, we must acknowledge that they are a step in

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the right direction. The force operating to bring under the control of government the relations between employed and employers in the case of monopolistic undertakings is like a law of nature which will override all opposition.

The question we have to answer is this: Which is better, government ownership and operation with the control naturally and spontaneously resulting therefrom, or private ownership and operation with government control forced on the owners and managers? The question is complex, and the answer is a difficult one in regard to which men may well differ; but it should receive the careful and conscientious attention of all who have any qualifications calculated to help them to throw light on the problems involved, and above all things it should be considered dispassionately. Whichever alternative we choose, we have complicated problems without end to solve; and this simply calls again to mind the fact that modern civilization is at best an arduous process.

It has seemed to me that the difficulties inherent in minute and detailed public control of private property, especially under American conditions, have been too generally underestimated. First of all, we must remember that private property naturally carries with it the right of exclusive control over the objects of property. A large part of the benefits of private property results from this exclusive control. The farmer exerts himself with diligence and reaps reward or bears loss according to the wisdom with which he exercises his control over his own operations. The anomalous condition of public control over private property is that we ask men to take the responsibilities of private property without its prerogatives; and protests from managers of railways and other similar enterprises are not surprising. Now what are the managers of such property going to say, if, having taken away from them the right to control their relations to the general public, we take from them the right to control the labor they employ? Will not the present friction, already disastrous, between government and powerful private interests, be increased many fold? Were any suggestions thrown out during the recent strike investigation in Chicago which would lead us to think otherwise? Already, at least one railway president insists that the government should purchase railway property if it assumes the right to control it. What may we expect will be the attitude of railway managers if we continue our policy of perpetual interference with private railway property?

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But we have difficulties in the way of control which are seldom alluded to. Of necessity, the special expert knowledge must for the most part be on the side of those over whom it is desired to exercise this control. Is this a promising experiment? Can ignorance control knowledge?—inexperience, experience? A German professor, with experience in public life in his own country, tells me how successfully in some instances this control has been exercised in Germany; but I reply: "America is not Germany. Can you, with American conditions, expect similar results? If you do, it seems to me you do not know our country. We have to deal with American farmers and American workingmen. Whatever you may think of them, they are facts, very real, very important."

But we have further to notice the immense power which these natural monopolies inevitably wield. When towns and cities contend with them, we have the spectacle of weakness attempting to exercise control over strength. What must we expect? Let us freely admit that in their moral qualities railway owners and managers are quite equal to the rest of the community, while wiser and stronger than most of their fellow citizens: can we, then, expect beneficial results? If the federal government is stronger than the natural monopolies it seeks to control, can they not treat with it almost as a co-ordinate power?—and is this beneficial?

Now let us take the question of corruption in public life, and let us freely admit the share of this corruption connected with the control in question, for which public authorities must bear the blame; let us take the view most favorable to the private parties controlled, and must we not admit that, with our American conditions, this corruption is to a great extent an inevitable result of the conflict of interest produced by the American policy? Not only must we protest against solving this question by considerations which hold in England and Germany, but we must likewise protest against a solution based merely upon the facts of life in New England and the Middle States.

The difficulties in the way of public ownership and management are vast. Such ownership and management imply changes and readjustments in our political conditions. Additional safeguards against undue centralization may possibly be necessary, for local self-government needs to be further developed rather than restricted. No danger must be suffered to threaten the American commonwealth. The civil service must be developed far beyond what we have as yet seriously considered, for it would be folly indeed to think of the

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enlargement of the functions of government mentioned, with our present civil service. Every one, however, will admit that, were it necessary, we could maintain a military service of one million men. Is it true that, should we set about it, we could not devise measures to maintain a civil service of one million men?

The acquisition, by the public, of the private property involved, without wrong to any one, suggests numerous difficulties. All these difficulties and obstacles in the way of the socialization of natural monopolies deserve most careful consideration; but, after all, which alternative suggests the greater difficulties? Which course promises most for the future?

Should it be decided that government ownership, immense as are its difficulties, is on the whole preferable, it will then be necessary to pass on to details: but it does not seem likely that such a decision will be reached except for some local monopolies, and perhaps the telegraph and telephone, in any near future. It may be one generation—it may be two generations—hence, before the public will be fully persuaded; and in such matters prediction is extremely unsafe. The change may never come, while it is possible that it may come sooner than I have anticipated. It is well for us, however, to have clear ideas in regard to the goal which it would be desirable to reach, could we attain it, in order that we may approximate as nearly to it as possible.

It should, however, be distinctly understood that a belief in the policy of socialization of national monopolies does not involve indorsement of every scheme for carrying into effect this policy. If a party arises which demands the socialization of natural monopolies, we may well ask ourselves what kind of leadership has this party. Has it in its leadership such mental capacity and such moral qualifications that it would be expedient to turn over the government to it, especially when so doing involves grave changes, requiring the best brains and ripest experience of the nation to effect them with safety? Furthermore, we may ask, what else does this party couple with the demand for the socialization of monopoly? Has this party ideas which seem to us wildly impracticable in regard to money and public finance? If so, we may conclude that adherence to older parties is preferable to support of a party deficient in leadership, and which couples unsound planks with one which, differently brought forward, might command our support.

Furthermore, it should be clearly understood that the policy of socialization of natural monopolies does not carry with it any idea of

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spoliation. Whatever we think about that policy, we should all, it seems to me, insist on full payment for all property taken from private owners.

A still more fundamental question is that suggested by the word "socialism," which is something so radically different from my general thought, that the competitive field of industry—that is, in the main, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce—is suitable for private effort, and the field of monopoly for public activity, that only shallow thinkers can confound the two. Socialism, however, is not so much a single question as a series of questions, vast and intricate. Socialism is indeed a philosophy of society supported by many very able men. I have held and still hold that the study of socialism is most useful, and that on several accounts. First of all it gives us a standpoint from which to survey existing institutions, and enables us to understand them and weigh in the balance their merits and demerits. It is general principle that indirect methods, both in science and industry, are speedier and more effective than direct methods. A critical study of socialism not only interests a student in the study of present society, but gives an aid in this study which it is difficult to find elsewhere. This is a position which was taken long ago by John Stuart Mill, and subsequent experience has only confirmed what he stated when he expressed the opinion "that the intellectual and moral grounds of socialism deserve the most attentive study, as affording in many cases the guiding principles of the improvements necessary to give the present economic system of society its best chance."

Socialism has also been a force which has stimulated the consciences of many and transformed beneficially the lives of not a few. Again, socialism has furnished a needed corrective to certain anarchistic tendencies in our life.

On the other hand, the agitation of socialism as it has been too frequently conducted has tended to an undue exaltation of manual toil, a depreciation of the brain work which alone can render mere physical exertion fruitful, and to class separation and hatred, and has at times turned away the attention of the masses from true remedies for evils which afflict them. The difficulties in the way of socialism seem to me to be insuperable. First of all there is the difficulty in the way of the organization of agriculture, which has never yet been squarely faced by socialists. Then, socialism once organized, there remains difficulty in securing that distribution of

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annual income which would give general satisfaction and at the same time promote progress. There is reason to apprehend that under socialism those pursuits upon which the progress of civilization depends would not be amply supported, and that the result of socialism would thus be a non-progressive society. If this is true, then the masses would ultimately suffer, even if we admit that their condition at first would be improved.

Finally, it is my opinion that the concentration of dissatisfaction under socialism would be revolutionary in character. As I have stated in my recent work on "Socialism and Social Reform," "the outcome of socialism then, it is to be apprehended, would be such an amount of dissatisfaction that one of two things would happen: either socialism would result in a series of revolutions, reducing countries like England and the United States to the condition of the South American republics, and rendering progress impossible; or the dissatisfaction would cause a complete overthrow of socialism and a return to the discredited social order."

I have stated my views in regard to anarchy so often and so emphatically that it is difficult for me to do more than to repeat what I have said elsewhere. Anarchy comprises the sum and substance of all evils of a social nature. Every step in the direction of anarchy is a calamity. The propaganda of anarchy is a terrible evil, leading to disturbance and insurrection. The evils which flow from anarchy or even the propaganda of anarchy are not incidental, but proceed from the very nature of the doctrine. Progress depends upon obedience to law and constituted authorities, and anarchy in its very nature is rebellion. Anarchy is lawlessness elaborated into a social philosophy, and anything more diametrically opposed to my own social philosophy is to me scarcely conceivable.

But this consideration of anarchy raises the question, Upon precisely what foundation does the opposition to anarchy rest? Anarchy is the negation of the state. What is the source and sanction of the authority of the state? Is the state a mere aggregate of individuals accomplishing their purpose simply by brute force? Does might make right? If it does, then is not the question between anarchy and its opponents simply a question of superior force? But if might does not make right, what does make right? Has the state an ethical nature? If the state is itself non-ethical, can the power which it exercises have an ethical element? But if it is devoid of an ethical element, can it rest upon anything less than mere brute

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force? The doctrine of the Christian church has been from time immemorial that the state is a divine institution and that its authority comes from God. If this is true, then we have a ground of opposition to anarchy which appeals alike to intellect and heart. Is this a true doctrine or is it not? Is it a doctrine which science can recognize? If science does not recognize it, what does science put in its place? I do not attempt to answer these questions, although I think a sufficiently clear answer can be found in my various writings; but I commend them to the careful consideration of the readers of the present article.

Finally, if my views have, as the editor of THE FORUM thinks, a public interest, probably it may be well for me to say a few words about the future progress of society. No sane man can claim that in our social arrangements we have as yet reached perfection. Every one acknowledges that there is room for improvement in literature, art, religion; but, strangely enough, some seem inclined to resist the conclusion which follows from the nature of man and the conditions which surround him, that there is room for improvement and possibility of improvement in our industrial relations. We have made advance in the past, and we shall certainly make progress in the future. It is inconceivable that industrial society two hundred years from now will be like the industrial society of to-day. It is eminently desirable that right-minded and intelligent persons should work for improvement and endeavor to render change—which must come in some way or another—as little injurious and as beneficial as possible.

First of all, the necessity is suggested of careful, conscientious study. The importance of study is generally felt, and the educational institutions of the land are moving in the right direction in the development which they are giving to all branches of social and political science. We need trained men in the pulpit and the press, and especially in legislative halls. Careful, impartial, thoroughly scientific study of the actual facts of life is to-day one of the most striking needs of the civilized world.

Such study and observation as have been already made show clearly that there is no panacea for individual and social ills. There is no royal road to a happy condition of society, but the road is long, arduous, and often painful. There is no possibility of escape from toil and suffering. Mitigation and gradual improvement are the utmost which we can hope for, and it is a duty of all those who have

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the ear of the masses to tell them this plain truth even if it be not altogether palatable. To arouse false hopes and to cultivate illusions result only in increased suffering. At the same time there is enough which can be accomplished, to stimulate all to put forward their best efforts, and to give encouragement in the midst of the weary struggle for better social conditions.

The eighteenth-century doctrine of essential equality among men is, in my opinion, pernicious. It seems to me that it has been a most fruitful cause of misfortune and misdirected social effort. It nourishes false hopes and turns attention away from facts of the utmost moment. There is no more marked social fact, no one more momentous in its consequences, than the essential inequality of men. Men are unequal in power, capacity, requirements; and the more one thinks about it the more marvellous do all these inequalities appear. Any social action based upon an assumption of equality is mischievous. It is especially the feebler members of the community who suffer under the doctrine of essential equality, because, as has been well said by a jurist, "Nothing is more unequal than the equal treatment of unequals." The doctrine of equality also weakens the feeling of responsibility on the part of those who are superior to their fellows either in their persons or their fortunes, whereas a frank recognition of inequalities and of the favored position of a few must tend to awaken in them a feeling of responsibility.

As far as my general social philosophy is concerned, I may then say that I am a conservative rather than a radical, and in the strict sense of the term an aristocrat rather than a democrat; but when I use the word "aristocrat," I have in mind of course not a legal aristocracy, but a natural aristocracy; not an aristocracy born for the enjoyment of special privilege, but an aristocracy which lives for the fulfilment of special service.

RICHARD T. ELY.

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ELY'S "SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM."

THERE is a set of current conceptions as to the relation between political economy, socialism, and legislative reform which have been fostered by writers like Carlyle or Ruskin, Kingsley or Maurice, which are reflected in many of the most popular novels and sermons of the day, and to which Professor Ely, in his recently-published book, "Socialism and Social Reform," has lent the weight of his authority. These conceptions may be formulated as follows:

1. Political Economy makes the individual an end, in and for himself; in other words it is a gospel of Mammon and a glorification of selfishness.

2. Socialism substitutes collective aims for individual ones. It is the result of a moral reaction against the traditional political economy,—a reaction which is taking hold of the masses, and which they are inclined to carry to an extreme.

3. The only way to prevent matters from being carried to such an extreme is for the wealthy and intelligent classes to adopt a great many socialistic measures on their own account, before the control of our social machinery is taken out of their hands.

The first of these conceptions is an entire mistake. Political Economy does not regard the individual as an end in himself. It does not glorify the pursuit of wealth except so far as this pursuit serves the interests of society as a whole. The great work of Adam Smith was an inquiry into the causes of the wealth of nations; and subsequent economists have followed in his footsteps. They have shown that the collective prosperity of a nation is far better fostered by the individual freedom and enlightened self-interest of its members than by any complicated system of police government. They have shown that, in the industry of modern civilized nations, the man who serves himself intelligently is generally serving others, even when he has no intention or consciousness of so doing. But in all this the individual freedom is treated as a means to social welfare rather than as an end in itself.

This development of individualism in economics is part of the

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general trend of modern thought and modern life. A few centuries ago, the principle of individual freedom was not recognized in law or in morals, any more than in trade. It was then thought that liberty in trade meant avarice, that liberty in politics meant violence, and that liberty in morals meant blasphemous wickedness. But as time went on, the modern world began to see that this old view was a mistake. Human nature was better than had been thought. Man was not in a state of war with his Creator and all his fellow-men which it required the combined power of the church and the police to repress. When a community had achieved political freedom, its members on the whole used that freedom to help one another instead of to hurt one another. When it had achieved moral freedom, it substituted an enlightened and progressive morality for an antiquated and formal one. When it had achieved industrial freedom, it substituted high efficiency of labor for low efficiency, and large schemes of mutual service for small ones. Constitutional liberty in politics, rational altruism in morals, and modern business methods in production and distribution of wealth, have been the outcome of the great individualistic movement of the nineteenth century.

Professor Ely quotes with apparent approval the Bishop of Durham's statement that "individualism regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring atoms." This is not only untrue: it is exactly the reverse of the truth. This idea of disconnected and warring atoms represents the traditional theological standpoint instead of the modern individualistic one. The individualist holds that, as society develops, the interests of its members become more and more harmonious; in other words, that rational egoism and rational altruism tend to coincide. In fact his chief danger lies in exaggerating the completeness of this coincidence in the existing imperfect stage of human development, and in believing that freedom will do everything for society, economically and morally.

These mistakes and exaggerations of individualism have given a legitimate field for socialistic criticism, both in morals and in economics. Some of the ablest economists on both sides of the Atlantic have done admirable work in pointing out where the evils arising from individual freedom may exceed its advantages, and when society must use its collective authority to produce the best economic and moral results. Such has been the work of John Stuart Mill, of Stanley Jevons, of Sir Thomas Farrer, of President Andrews, and of the leaders of the German "Historical School." Men of this type

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recognize that the point of issue between them and their opponents is not a question of ends, but of means. Both sides have the same object at heart; namely, the general good of society. One side believes that this good is best achieved by individual freedom in a particular line of action; the other side believes that the dangers and evils with which such freedom is attended outweigh its advantages. The good and evil are often so closely balanced that economists on either side find the utmost advantage in studying the criticisms of their opponents as a means of avoiding or correcting their own errors.

But the name "socialist" is rarely applied to a critic of this stamp. It belongs by current usage to a far larger body of people who dislike, misunderstand, and try to ignore, the results of economic experience. They are, as a rule, men who see clearly the existence of certain evils in modern industrial society which some economists have overlooked, and others have deplored as inevitable. They rush to the conclusion that economic science regards these evils with indifference, and that its conclusions and purposes are therefore immoral; while they claim for themselves, more or less consciously, a superior moral purpose because they are trying to right visible wrongs by direct state action. This is, in its general nature, the so-called moral reaction against the teachings of economics.

This reaction is in fact not so much a moral as an emotional one. It is not due to the fact that the socialist hates moral evils which the economist of the old school regards with apathy. It is rather the result of a difference in mental constitution which leads the economist to calculate the large and remote consequences of any measure and ignore the immediate details, while the socialist feels the details so strongly that he refuses to work out the indirect consequences of his action. It is an old saying that men may be divided into two classes, one of which is so occupied looking at the woods that it does not see the trees, while the other is so occupied with the trees that it does not see the woods. The attitude of some of the economists toward questions of social reform is not inaptly typified by the former class; that of their socialistic critics by the latter.

Of course it will not do to undervalue the emotional element in dealing with economic matters, as men of the more purely intellectual type are sometimes prone to do. Reasoning about human conduct is full of chances of error; and if the outcome of such reasoning is to leave a considerable number of human beings in hopeless misery, society is justified in demanding that every premise and every infer-

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ence in the chain of reasoning be tested, and every rational experiment be made to see whether such a consequence is really inevitable. Instances have not been wanting when the conclusions of the economists have proved wrong, and the emotions of the critics have been warranted by the event. The factory legislation of England furnishes an historic example. The economists, as a rule, condemned this legislation as wrong in principle and likely to do harm; but the results showed that these economists had overlooked certain factors of importance with regard to public health and public morals which vitiated their conclusions and justified public opinion in disregarding them.

But while the men of emotion may sometimes be right and the men of reason wrong, the chances in matters of legislation are most decidedly the other way. It is safe to say that the harm which has been done by laws based on unemotional reasoning is but a drop in the bucket compared with that which has been done by laws based on unreasoning emotion. The tendency to overvalue feeling as compared with reason is a far greater danger than the tendency to undervalue it. For legislation is essentially a matter of remote consequences. The man who tries to reason out these consequences will occasionally make mistakes; the man who refuses to reason them out will habitually do so. The good which state interference does is often something visible and tangible. The evil which it does is much more indirect, and can only be appreciated by careful study. The man who has his mind so fixed on some immediate object as to shut his eyes to the results of such study, is almost certain to advocate too much state action. He may succeed in passing a few good laws, but he will be responsible for a vastly larger number of bad ones.

The danger from this source is increased by the fact that so many good people make very little distinction between what is emotional and what is moral. They think that calculated conduct is selfish conduct, and that unselfishness can exist only in the emotional as opposed to the intellectual sphere. Many a man gives charity to a pauper upon impulse and thinks he is doing a good deed, when he is really shutting his eyes to the consequences of an evil one. "Virtue," says a French writer, "is more dangerous than vice because its excesses are not subject to the restraints of conscience." There is a great deal of legislation, and a great deal of socialism, to which this remark will apply. Its promoters believe themselves to be actuated by moral ideas, when the chief ground for this belief is the absence of intellectual ones.

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Perhaps the most plausible argument urged in favor of the superior morality of the socialistic system is that it would teach people to think more than they now do of sympathy as an industrial force, and less of self-interest. It is urged that a belief in the principles of the commercial world tends to make people selfish, while a belief in socialism tends to make them sympathetic. This view is hardly justified by the facts of history. In Europe, all through the Middle Ages, charity was regarded as a right and business as a wrong; but those ages were marked by strife rather than by sympathy. The attempt to restrict business transactions and to suppress self-interest as a commercial factor stood in the way of mutual service. The assertion of the duty of charity did not produce a better system of mutual service, as the advocates of socialism would have us believe. It put intolerable burdens upon some classes—especially the agricultural laborers—in order to support other classes in comparative idleness. Though the ideals of socialism may be attractive, its methods have been demoralizing; and this is the really important thing to consider in judging the moral character of socialism as an economic system.

Let us compare the moral effect of the commercial and the socialistic theories of value. The commercial theory is that the value or proper price of an article is based on the needs of the market; that is, upon the utility of additional supplies of that article to the consumers. The socialists object that the results of this theory are unjust, and that some people get a large price for what has cost them very little effort; while others expend a great deal of effort and can command only a small price in return. They would have us adopt a theory of value which should make the price depend on the sacrifice of the producer rather than on the needs of the consumer. At first sight the socialistic theory seems the more just; and the emotional man is pretty certain to pronounce it morally superior to the commercial theory. But the intellectual man, who traces the consequences of the two views, finds that the commercial theory leads men to produce what others want in as large quantities as possible, and with the minimum expenditure of labor; while the socialistic theory leads men to spend as many hours as possible over their work and dole out the smallest possible quantities of what other people want. Whatever may be thought of the assumptions of the two systems, the industrial results of the commercial theory are efficiency, progress, and service to others; while those of the socialistic theory

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are inefficiency, antiquated methods of work, and restriction of service to others.

Judged in the light of economic history, the "high ideals" which, to quote the words of Professor Ely, "socialism has placed before the masses of the people, and which they have absorbed," are based partly on erroneous assumptions and partly on demoralizing ones.

But there is still another point to be considered. Even if we regard the socialistic views as erroneous and demoralizing, the fact remains that they are held to a greater or less extent by a large number of people—perhaps a majority of the voters in the United States. What is a wise man to do under these circumstances? Shall he make concessions to this sentiment lest a worse thing befall him? Professor Ely most explicitly urges that this should be done. From this view the writer is compelled to dissent emphatically, alike on grounds of morality and of policy. He believes that the courageous answer to this question is the prudent one, and that that answer is, *No.*

Let us not be misunderstood. If, on careful inquiry, it appears to a thinking man that the public good will in any particular case be better served by the adoption of socialistic means rather than of individualistic ones, he ought to favor their adoption, whether this policy commands five votes or five million. But if he does not believe that the public good will be served by such a policy, and lends his countenance to its adoption because he is afraid to oppose the emotional demand which stands behind it, his conduct is a mistake from whatsoever point of view we regard it.

In the first place, it is likely to strengthen rather than weaken the demand for more radical changes. You cannot compromise with an emotion as you can with a differing opinion,—witness the difficulties of arbitration in labor disputes. An emotion is stimulated rather than satisfied by concessions. Such concessions are taken as evidence, not of a spirit of accommodation, but of weakness,—and, on the whole, rightly so. If the conservatives yield to a popular clamor which overawes but does not convince them, the people are justified in assuming that their previous toleration of evils was due to indifference and not to an honest conviction that it was impossible to stop them by state action. In sacrificing their own better judgment, the conservatives give up their strongest weapon of defence, and gain absolutely nothing.

Nor do we find, except in rare instances, that the failure of an

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experiment in over-legislation lessens the demand for similar action in the future. The failure will be attributed not to the fact that there was too much state action, but too little. Disasters and losses connected with state railroad control are made so many arguments in favor of state railroad ownership. The difficulties and failures of co-operation under the existing system of industry lead to a demand for a "co-operative commonwealth." No socialistic experiment is proved a failure, in the eyes of its promoters, until all other simultaneous experiments have been stopped. It is just here that individualism has its greatest advantage for the progress of the community. It tries to leave people free to make their own mistakes; trusting that the successful experiment will be followed and the unsuccessful one abandoned, and that the community will thereby profit from the errors hardly less than from the successes of its active members. Though this ideal of the individualist is nowhere fully carried out, it is unquestionably true that economic individualism has enabled nations to learn and profit by the success or failure of industrial experiments far more rapidly than any socialistic system with the collective action which it necessitated. The world's great inventions and improvements, material and moral, have been made by individual initiative, and adopted reluctantly by organized governments of any form whatever.

It is because of this success in serving the community that individualistic economics holds the position which it does at the present day. It is not because the leaders of industry or the exponents of the traditional political economy are popular, for they are not. It is because their work proves constructive and preservative of human happiness, while that of their opponents is unsuccessful or destructive. It is doubtful whether President Cleveland, three months ago, was any more popular than President Debs; but President Cleveland represented intellect while President Debs represented emotion, and we have seen what came of the contest. A nation must let intellect rule over emotion, whether it likes intellect or not. The alternative is political and industrial suicide. The proof of intellect and the condition of holding power is success in foreseeing the future. "There is one quality in a general which every soldier understands, and that is success."

Whenever a republic undertakes to carry on a war, there is always a popular demand for more vigorous action than the judgment of the best trained officers can approve. An emotional public

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sentiment mistakes the caution of a general for apathy, and stigmatizes his scientific foresight as the result of cowardice or treachery. Too often, under the influences of such a sentiment, a Fabius is displaced by a Varro, a McClellan by a Pope, or a Johnston by a Hood. A Gates is allowed to snatch away the well-earned laurels of a Schuyler, and even to menace the authority of a Washington. But sooner or later science finds its vindication in a Cannæ or a Camden, a Manassas or an Atlanta. It is not by yielding to popular demands, as did Burnside at Fredericksburg or Lee at Gettysburg, that generals preserve their authority and their cause. It was a great deed when Thomas held his position at Chickamauga for hour after hour against the assaults of ever-increasing numbers, amid imminent peril of destruction; but it was a far greater deed for himself and for the Union, when, fifteen months later, he held his position at Nashville for week after week, under increasing popular clamor for premature action, and in the hourly peril of ignominious removal. The statesman who, under the pressure of popular clamor, modifies his calmer scientific judgment to suit an emotional demand, barters the possibility of a Nashville for the probability of a Fredericksburg.

This illustration will serve to show why economists as a body look with distrust on those who appeal from the conclusions of history and deduction to those of popular sentiment, and will explain a great deal of this alleged intolerance and exclusiveness. It is not true that economists make the individual good an end in itself. Nothing but ignorance of their writings can excuse this belief. Nor is it true that they reject socialistic means for the promotion of the public welfare. Those who adopt an extreme position in this matter are to-day in a minority. But they strongly disapprove the attempt to "popularize" economics by giving too much weight to the conclusions of uninstructed public sentiment. It is not toward the theories of the socialists that their hostility is exercised, nor even toward their practical proposals, but toward their methods of investigation and the manner of their appeal to the public.

ARTHUR T. HADLEY.

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STUDIES OF THE GREAT VICTORIAN WRITERS: III.—DISRAELI'S PLACE IN LITERATURE.[1]

In the blaze of the political reputation of the Earl of Beaconsfield we are too apt to overlook the literary claims of Benjamin Disraeli. But many of those who have small sympathy with his career as a statesman find a keen relish in certain of his writings; and it is hardly a paradox to augur that in a few generations more the chief of the new Tory Democracy may have become a mere name, whilst certain of his social satires may still be read. Bolingbroke, Swift, Sheridan, and Macaulay live in English literature, but are little remembered as politicians; and Burke, the philosopher, grows larger in power over our thoughts, as Burke, the party orator, becomes less and less by time. We do not talk of Viscount St. Albans, the learned Chancellor: we speak only of Bacon, the brilliant writer, the potent thinker. And so perhaps in the next century, little will be heard of Lord Beaconsfield, the Jingo Prime Minister: but some of Benjamin Disraeli's pictures of English society and the British Parliament may still amuse and instruct our descendants.

It is true that the permanent parts of his twenty works may prove to be small. Pictures, vignettes, sketches, epigrams will survive rather than elaborate works of art; these gems of wit and fancy will have to be picked out of a mass of rubbish; and they will be enjoyed for their vivacious originality and Voltairean pungency, not as masterpieces or complete creations. That Disraeli wrote much stuff, is true enough. But so did Fielding, so did Swift, and Defoe, and Goldsmith. Writers are to be judged by their best; and it does not matter so very much if that best is little in bulk. Disraeli's social and political satires have a peculiar and rare flavour of their own, charged with an insight and a vein of wit such as no other man perhaps in this century has touched—so that, even though they be in sketches and sometimes in mere *jeux d'esprit*, they bring him into the company of Swift, Voltaire, and Montesquieu. He is certainly inferior to all these both in wit and passion, and also in definite purpose. But he

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has touches of their lightning-flash irradiating contemporary society. And it seems a pity that the famous "Men of Letters" series which admits (and rightly admits) Hawthorne and De Quincey, could find no room for the author of "Ixion in Heaven," "The Infernal Marriage," "Coningsby," "Sybil," and "Lothair."

Disraeli's literary reputation has suffered much in England by the unfortunate circumstance of his having been the leader of a political party. As the chief of a powerful party which he transformed with amazing audacity, as the victorious destroyer of the old Whig oligarchy and the founder of the new Tory democracy, as a man of Jewish birth and alien race, as a man to whom satire was the normal weapon and bombastic affectation a deliberate expedient for dazzling the weak—Disraeli, even in his writings, has been exposed in England to a bitter system of disparagement which blinds partizans to their real literary merit. His political opponents, and they are many and savage, can see little to admire in his strange romances: his political worshippers and followers, who took him seriously as a great statesman, are not fond of imagining their hero as an airy satirist. His romances as well as his satires are wholly unlike anything English; and though he had brilliant literary powers, he never acquired any serious literary education. Much as he had read, he had no learning, and no systematic knowledge of any kind. He was never, strictly speaking, even an accurate master of literary English. He would slip, as it were, unconsciously, into foreign idioms and obsolete words. In America, where his name arouses no political prejudice, he is better judged. To the Englishman, at least to the pedant, he is still a somewhat elaborate jest.

Let us put aside every bias of political sympathy and anything that we know or suspect of the nature of the man, and we may find in the writer, Benjamin Disraeli, certain very rare qualities which justify his immense popularity in America, and indeed in England. In his preface to "Lothair" (October, 1870), he proudly said that it had been "more extensively read both by the people of the United Kingdom and the United States than any work that has appeared for the last half century." This singular popularity must have a ground. Disraeli, in truth, belongs to that very small group of real political satirists of whom Swift is the type. He is not the equal of the terrible Dean; but it may be doubted if any Englishman since Swift has had the same power of presenting vivid pictures and decisive criticisms of the political and social organism of his times. It is this

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Aristophanic gift which Swift had. Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rabelais, Diderot, Heine, Beaumarchais had it. Carlyle had it for other ages and in a historic spirit. There have been far greater satirists, men like Fielding and Thackeray who have drawn far more powerful pictures of particular characters, foibles, or social maladies. But since Swift we have had no Englishman who could give us a vivid and amusing picture of our social and political life, as laid bare to the eye of a consummate political genius.

It must be admitted that, with all the rare qualities of Disraeli's literary work, he hardly ever took it quite seriously, or except as an interlude and with some ulterior aim. In his early pieces he simply sought to startle the town and to show what a wonderfully clever young fellow had descended upon it. In his later books, such as "Coningsby," "Sybil," and "Tancred," he wished to propound a new party programme. "Lothair" was a picture of British society, partly indulgent and sympathetic, partly caustic or contemptuous, but presented all through with a vein of *persiflage*, mockery, and extravaganza. All this was amusing and original; but every one of these things is fatal to sustained and serious art. If an active politician seeks to galvanise a new party by a series of novels, the romances cannot be works of literary art. If a young man wants only to advertize his own smartness, he will not produce a beautiful thing. And if a statesman out of office wishes to amuse himself by alternate banter and laudation of the very society which he has led and which looks to him as its inspiration, the result will be infinitely entertaining, but not a great work of art. Disraeli therefore with literary gifts of a very high order never used them in the way in which a true artist works, and only resorted to them as a means of gaining some practical and even material end.

But, if Disraeli's ambition led him to political and social triumphs, for which he sacrificed artistic success and literary honours, we ought not to be blind to the rare qualities which are squandered in his books. He did not produce immortal romances—he knew nothing of an ingenious plot, or a striking situation, or a creative character—but he did give us inimitable political satires and some delicious social pantomimes; and he presented these with an original wit in which the French excel, which is very rare indeed in England. Ask not of Disraeli more than he professes to give you, judge him by his own standard, and he will still furnish you with delightful reading, with suggestive and original thoughts. He is usually inclined to make

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game of his reader, his subject, and even of himself; but he lets you see that he never forgets this, and never attempts to conceal it. He is seldom dull, never sardonic or cruel, and always clean, healthy, and decent. His heroines are ideal fairy queens, his heroes are all visionary and chivalrous nincompoops; and even, though we know that much of it is whimsical banter and nonsensical fancy, there is an air of refined extravaganza in these books which may continue to give them a lasting charm.

The short juvenile drolleries of his restless youth are the least defective as works of art; and, being brief and simple *jeux d'esprit* of a rare order, they are entirely successful and infinitely amusing. "Ixion in Heaven," "The Infernal Marriage," and "Popanilla," are astonishing products of a lad of twenty-three, who knew nothing of English society, and had had neither regular education nor social opportunities. They have been compared with the social satirettes of Lucian, Swift, and Voltaire. It is true they have not the fine touch and exquisite polish of the witty Greek of Samosata, nor the subtle irony of Voltaire and Montesquieu, nor the profound grasp of the Dean. But they are full of wit, observation, sparkle, and fun. The style is careless and even incorrect, but it is full of point and life. The effects are rather stagey, and the smartness somewhat strained—that is, if these boyish trifles are compared with "Candide" and the "Lettres Persanes." As pictures of English society, court, and manners in 1827 painted in fantastic apologues, they are most ingenious and may be read again and again. "The Infernal Marriage," in the vein of the "Dialogues of the Dead," is the most successful. "Ixion" is rather broader, simpler, and much more slight, but is full of boisterous fun. "Popanilla," a more elaborate satire in direct imitation of "Gulliver's Travels," is neither so vivacious nor so easy as the smaller pieces, but it is full of wit and insight. Nothing could give a raw Hebrew lad the sustained imagination and passion of Jonathan Swift; but there are few other masters of social satire with whom the young genius of twenty-three can be compared. These three satires, which together do not fill 200 pages, are read and reread by busy and learned men after nearly seventy years have passed. And that is in itself a striking proof of their originality and force.

It is not fair to one who wrote under the conditions of Benjamin Disraeli to take any account of his inferior work: we must judge him at his best. He avowedly wrote many pot-boilers merely for money; he began to write simply to make the world talk about him,

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and he hardly cared what the world might say; and he not seldom wrote rank bombast in open contempt for his reader, apparently as if he had made a bet to ascertain how much stuff the British public would swallow. "Vivian Grey" is a lump of impudence; "The Young Duke" is a lump of affectation; "Alroy" is ambitious balderdash. They all have passages and epigrams of curious brilliancy and trenchant observation; they have wit, fancy, and life scattered up and down their pages. But they are no longer read, nor do they deserve to be read. "Contarini Fleming," "Henrietta Temple," "Venetia," are full of sentiment, and occasionally touch a poetic vein. They had ardent admirers once, even amongst competent judges. They may still be read, and they have scenes, descriptions, and detached thoughts of real charm, and almost of true beauty. They are not, in any sense, works of art; they are ill-constructed, full of the mawkish gush of the Byronic fever, and never were really sincere and genuine products of heart and brain. They were show exercises in the Byronic mode. And, though we may still take them up for an hour for the occasional flashes of genius and wit they retain, no one believes that they can add much permanent glory to the name of Benjamin Disraeli.

Apart from the three early burlesques, of which we have spoken —trifles indeed and crude enough, but trifles that sparkle with penetration and wit—the books on which Disraeli's reputation alone can be founded are "Coningsby," "Sybil," and "Lothair." These all contain many striking epigrams, ingenious theories, original suggestions, vivacious caricatures, and even creative reflections, mixed, it must be admitted, with not a little transparent nonsense. But they are all so charged with bright invention, keen criticism, quaint paradox, they are so entirely unlike anything else in our recent literature, and they touch, in a Voltairean way, so deeply to the roots of our social and political fabric, that they may long continue to be read. In the various prefaces, and especially in the general preface to "Lothair" (of October, 1870), Disraeli has fully explained the origin and aim of these and his other works. It is written, as usual, with his tongue in his cheek, in that vein of semi-bombastic paradox which was designed to mystify the simple and to amuse the acuter reader. But there is an inner seriousness in it all; and, as it has a certain correspondence with his public career and achievements, it must be taken as substantially true. "Coningsby" (1844) and "Sybil" (1845) were written in the vigour of manhood and early days of his political

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ambition, with an avowed purpose of founding a new party in Parliament. It must be admitted that they did to some extent effect their purpose—not immediately or directly, and only as part of their author's schemes. But the Primrose League and the New Toryism of our day bear witness to the vitality of the movement which, fifty years ago, Disraeli propounded to a puzzled world. "Lothair" (1870) came twenty-five years later—when he had outlived his illusions; and in more artistic and more mellow tones he painted the weaknesses of a society that he had failed to inspire, but which it gratified his pride to command.

"'Coningsby,' 'Sybil,' and 'Tancred,'" says he in his grandiose way, "form a real Trilogy." "The derivation and character of political parties,"—he goes on to explain—was the subject of "Coningsby." "The condition of the people which had been the consequence of them"—was the subject of "Sybil." "The duties of the Church as a main remedial agency" and "the race who had been the founders of Christianity" (although, if we are to believe the Gospels, the murderers and persecutors of Christ and His Apostles)—were the subjects of "Tancred" (1847). "Tancred," though it has some highly amusing scenes, may be dismissed at once. Disraeli fought for the Chosen Race, their endowments and achievements, with wonderful courage and ingenuity. It was perhaps the cause which he had most deeply at heart, from its intimate relation to his own superb ambition and pride. But it has made no real way, nor has it made any converts. Thackeray's "Codlingsby" has almost extinguished 'Sidonia.' And the strange phantasmagoria of the Anglican Church, revivified by the traditions of Judaism, and ascending to the throne of St. Peter is perhaps the most stupendous joke which even Disraeli had ever dared to perpetrate. In the preface to "Lothair" we read:—

> "The tradition of the Anglican Church was powerful. Resting on the Church of Jerusalem, modified by the divine school of Galilee, it would have found that rock of truth which Providence, by the instrumentality of the Semitic race, had promised to St. Peter."

Whatever this jargon may mean, the public has allowed it to fall flat. It seems to suggest that the Archbishop of Canterbury, by resuming the tradition of Caiaphas, as "modified" by the Sermon on the Mount, might oust the Pope of Rome as was foretold by the Divine young Jewish reformer when he called the fishermen of Galilee. It is difficult to believe that Disraeli himself was serious in all this. In the last scene, as Tancred is proposing to the lovely Jewess,

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their privacy is disturbed by a crowd of retainers around the papa and mamma of the young heir. The last lines of "Tancred" are these:—"The Duke and Duchess of Bellamont had arrived at Jerusalem." This is hardly the way in which to preach a New Gospel to a sceptical and pampered generation.

But, if the regeneration of the Church of England by a re-Judaizing process and return to the Targum of the Pharisees has proved abortive, it must be admitted that, from the political point of view, the conception announced in the "trilogy," and rhapsodically illustrated in "Tancred,"—the conception of the Anglican Church reviving its political ascendancy and developing "the most efficient means of the renovation of the national spirit"—has not proved quite abortive. It shows astonishing prescience to have seen exactly fifty years ago that the Church of England might yet become a considerable political power, and could be converted, by a revival of Mediæval traditions, into a potent instrument of the new Tory Democracy. Whatever we may think about the strengthening of the Established Church from the point of view of intellectual solidity or influence with the nation, it can hardly be doubted that in the fifty years that have passed since the date of the "trilogy," the Church as a body has rallied to one party in the State, and has proved a potent ally of militant Imperialism and Tory Democracy. Lord Beaconsfield lived to witness that great transformation in the Church of the High and Dry Pluralists and the Simeonite parsons, which he had himself so powerfully organised in Parliament, in society, and on the platform. His successor to-day can count on no ally so sure and loyal as the Church. But it was a wonderful inspiration for a young man fifty years ago to perceive that this could be done—and to see the way in which it might be done.

"Coningsby" and "Sybil" at any rate were active forces in the formation of a definite political programme. And this was a programme which in Parliament and in the country their author himself had created, organised, and led to victory. It cannot be denied that they largely contributed to this result. And thus these books have this very remarkable and almost unique character. It would be very difficult to mention anything like a romance in any age or country which had ever effected a direct political result or created a new party. "Don Quixote" is said to have annihilated chivalry; "Tartuffe" dealt a blow at the pretensions of the Church; and the "Marriage of Figaro" at those of the old *noblesse*. It is possible that

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"Bleak House" gave some impulse to law reform, and "Vanity Fair" has relieved us of a good deal of snobbery. But no novel before or since ever created a political party and provided them with a new programme. "Coningsby" and "Sybil" really did this; and it may be doubted if it could have been done in any other way. "Imagination, in the government of nations" (we are told in the preface to "Lothair") "is a quality not less important than reason." Its author trusts much "to a popular sentiment which rested on a heroic tradition and which was sustained by the high spirit of a free aristocracy."

Now this is a kind of party programme which it was almost impossible to propound on the platform or in Parliament. These imaginative and somewhat utopian schemes of "changing back the oligarchy into a generous aristocracy round a real throne," of "infusing life and vigour into the Church as the trainer of the nation," of recalling the popular sympathies "to the principles of loyalty and religious reverence"—these were exactly the kind of new ideas which it would be difficult to expound in the House of Commons or in a towns-meeting. In the preface to "Coningsby" the author tells us that, after reflection, the form of fiction seemed to be the best method of influencing opinion. These books then present us with the unique example of an ambitious statesman resorting to romance as his means of reorganising a political party.

There is another side to this feature which is also unique and curiously full of interest. These romances are the only instances in which any statesman of the first rank, who for years was the ruling spirit of a great empire, has thrown his political conceptions and schemes into an imaginative form. And these books, from "Vivian Grey" (1825) to "Endymion" (1880), extend over fifty-five years, before his political career seemed able to begin, in the midst of it, and after it was ended. In the grandiloquent style of the autobiographical prefaces, we may say that they recall to us the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius, the "Political Testament" of Richelieu, and the "Conversations" of Napoleon at St. Helena.

In judging these remarkable works, we ought to remember that they are not primarily romances at all, that they do not compete with genuine romances, and they ought to be read for the qualities they have, not for those in which they fail. They are in part autobiographical sketches, meditations on society, historical disquisitions, and political manifestoes. They are the productions of a statesman aim-

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ing at a practical effect, not of a man of letters creating a work of imaginative art. The creative form is quite subsidiary and subordinate. It would be unreasonable to expect in them elaborate drawing of character, complex plot, or subtle types of contemporary life. Their aim is to paint the actual political world, to trace its origin, and to idealise its possible development. And this is done, not by an outside man of letters, but by the very man who had conquered a front place in this political world, and who had more or less realised his ideal development. They are almost the only pictures of the inner parliamentary life we have; and they are painted by an artist who was first and foremost a great parliamentary power of consummate experience and insight. If the artistic skill were altogether absent, we should not read them at all, as nobody reads Lord Russell's dramas or the poems of Frederick the Great. But the art, though unequal and faulty, is full of vigour, originality, and suggestion. Taken as a whole, they are quite unique.

"Coningsby; or, the New Generation" was the earliest and in some ways the best of the trilogy. It is still highly diverting as a novel, and, as we see to-day, was charged with potent ideas and searching criticism. It was far more real and effective as a romance than anything Disraeli had previously written. There are scenes and characters in the story which will live in English literature. Thackeray could hardly have done better than 'Rigby,' 'Tadpole' and 'Taper,' 'Lord Monmouth.' These are characters which are household words with us like 'Lord Steyne' and 'Rawdon Crawley.' The social pictures are as realistic as those of Trollope, and now and then as bright as those of Thackeray. The love-making is tender, pretty, and not nearly so mawkish as that of 'Henrietta Temple' and 'Venetia.' There is plenty of wit, epigram, squib, and *bon mots*. There is almost none of that rhodomontade which pervades the other romances, except perhaps as to 'Sidonia' and the supremacy of the Hebrew race—a topic on which Benjamin himself was hardly sane. "Coningsby," as a novel, is sacrificed to its being a party manifesto and a political programme first and foremost. But as a novel it is good. It is the only book of Disraeli's in which we hardly ever suspect that he is merely trying to fool us. It is not so gay and fantastic as "Lothair." But, being far more real and serious, it is perhaps the best of Disraeli's novels.

As a political manifesto, "Coningsby" has been an astonishing success. The grand idea of Disraeli's life was to struggle against

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what he called the "Venetian Constitution," imposed and maintained by the "Whig Oligarchy." As Radical, as Tory, as novelist, as statesman, his ruling idea was "to dish the Whigs," in Lord Derby's historic phrase. And he did "dish the Whigs." The old Whigs have disappeared from English politics. They have either amalgamated with the Tories, become Unionist Conservatives, henchmen of Lord Salisbury, or else have become Gladstonians and Radicals. The so-called Whigs of 1894, if any politicians so call themselves, are far more Tory than the Whigs of 1844, and the Tories of 1894 are far more democratic than the Whigs of 1844. This complete transformation is very largely due to Disraeli himself. And the first sketch of the new policy was flung upon an astonished public in "Coningsby," just fifty years ago. No doubt, the arduous task of educating the Conservative Party into the new faith of Tory Democracy was not effected by "Coningsby" alone. But it may be doubted if Mr. Disraeli would have accomplished it by his speeches without his writings. As a sketch of the inner life of the Parliamentary system of fifty years ago, "Coningsby" is perfect and has never been approached. Both Thackeray and Trollope have painted Parliament and public life so far as it could be seen from a London club. But Disraeli has painted it as it was known to a man who threw his whole life into it, and who was himself a consummate Parliamentary leader.

"Sybil; or, the Two Nations," the second of the trilogy (1845), was devoted, he tells us, "to the condition of the people," that dismal result of the "Venetian Constitution" and of the "Whig Oligarchy" which he had denounced in "Coningsby." "Sybil" was perhaps the most genuinely serious of all Disraeli's romances; and in many ways it was the most powerful. Disraeli himself was a man of sympathetic and imaginative nature who really felt for the suffering and oppressed. He was tender-hearted as a man, however sardonic as a politician. He had seen and felt the condition of the people in 1844. It was a time of cruel suffering which also stirred the spirits of Carlyle, Mill, Cobden, and Bright. It led to the new Radicalism of which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. John Morley are eminent types. But the genius of Disraeli saw that it might also become the foundation of a new Toryism; and "Sybil" was the first public manifesto of the new departure. The political history of the last fifty years is evidence of his insight that, to recover their political ascendancy, a Conservative Party must take in hand "the condition of the people," under the leadership of "a generous aristocracy," and in alliance with a reno-

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vated Church. These are the ideas of "Sybil," though in the novel they are adumbrated in a dim and fantastic way. As a romance, "Sybil" is certainly inferior to "Coningsby." As a political manifesto, it has had an almost greater success, and the movement that it launched is far from exhausted even yet. One of Disraeli's comrades in the new programme of 1844–5 was a member of the last Tory cabinet and may well be a member of the next. And when we consider all the phases of Tory Democracy, Socialistic Toryism, and the current type of Christian Socialism, we may come to regard the ideas propounded in "Sybil" as not quite so visionary as they appeared to the Whigs, Radicals, Free Traders, and Benthamites of fifty years ago.

In "Lothair," which did not appear until twenty-five years after "Sybil," we find an altered and more mellow tone, as of a man who was playing with his own puppets, and had no longer any startling theories to propound or political objects to win. For this reason it is in some ways the most complete and artistic of Disraeli's romances. The plot is not suspended by historical disquisitions on the origin of the Whig oligarchy, by pictures of the House of Commons that must weary those who know nothing about it, and by enthusiastic appeals to the younger aristocracy to rouse itself and take in hand the condition of the people. In 1870, Mr. Disraeli had little hope of realising his earlier visions, and he did not write "Lothair" to preach a political creed. The tale is that he avowed three motives, the first to occupy his mind on his fall from power, the second to make a large sum which he much needed, and the third to paint the manners of the highest order of rank and wealth, of which he alone amongst novelists had intimate knowledge. That is exactly what we see in "Lothair." It is airy, fantastic, pure, graceful, and extravagant. The whole thing goes to bright music, like a comic opera of Gilbert and Sullivan. There is life and movement; but it is a scenic and burlesque life. There is wit, criticism, and caricature; but it does not cut deep, and it is neither hot nor fierce. There is some pleasant tomfoolery; but at a comic opera we enjoy this graceful nonsense. We see in every page the trace of a powerful mind; but it is a mind laughing at its own creatures, at itself, at us. "Lothair" would be a work of art, if it were explicitly presented as a burlesque, such as was "The Infernal Marriage," or if we did not know that it was written to pass the time by one who had ruled this great empire for years, and who within a few years more was destined to rule it again. It was a fanciful and almost sympathetic satire on the selfish fatuity of the noble, wealthy,

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and governing orders of British society. But then the author of this burlesque was himself about to ask these orders to admit him to their select ranks, and to enthrone him as their acknowledged chief.

As the rancour of party feeling that has gathered round the personality of Beaconsfield subsides, and as time brings new proofs of the sagacity of the judgments with which Benjamin Disraeli analysed the political traditions of British society, we may look for a fresh growth of the popularity of the trilogy and "Lothair." England will one day be as just, as America now is, to one of her wittiest writers. He will one day be formally admitted into the ranks of the Men of Letters. He has hitherto been kept outside, in a sense, partly by his being a prominent statesman and party chief, partly by his incurable tone of mind with its Semitic and non-English ways, partly by his strange incapacity to acquire the *nuances* of pure literary English. No English writer of such literary genius slips so often into vulgarisms, solecisms, archaisms, and mere slip-shod gossip. But these are after all quite minor defects. His books, even his worst books, abound in epigrams, pictures, characters, and scenes of rare wit. His painting of Parliamentary life in England has neither equal nor rival. And his reflections of English society and politics reveal the insight of vast experience and profound genius.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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THE CONTENTED MASSES.

THOSE who think that it would be easy for our industrial discontent to ripen into social revolution have not taken account of the largest element in our national polity, the people outside of the great cities. The provinces are the silent partners of the great cities. But, though silent, they hold most of the proxies; and in every great crisis in the republic it is they that have had the last word. The provinces are not yet prepared to upset the present industrial scheme on the chance that a few desperate agitators with a smattering of knowledge, backed by an intrepid vanity, may instantly provide a better. And this holds true in the West as in the other parts of the country. There is a very common belief that the West is in a state of sullen revolt against the present, and willing to turn its hand to any vagary in finance or sociology. But this is true, not of the West, but only of limited portions of the West. In sections of the Northwest, where men without a penny have bought farms, mortgaging them, expecting out of the money thus raised to pay for farms, stock, and machinery (very likely loading themselves down with both chattel and farm mortgages), and year after year have reaped hardly enough from their scorched acres to pay the interest on their debts,—there discontent, like weeds, is a sure crop. The farmer has risked everything on the climate, and the climate has played him false.

But a very different state of things is the rule in sections with kindlier skies. Such a section is the State of Iowa. A survey of the State, and especially of one section thereof (chosen because it is the section that the writer knows best) may give Eastern readers a fairer idea of a Western community than they sometimes have. The State of Iowa has a population a little under 2,000,000 souls. Of these, 1,587,827 were born in this country, which scores one point for the State. It scores another in the character of its foreign-born population, who come from Germany, Sweden, and Great Britain, rather than from the mongrel races of Southern Europe.

Iowa has no bonded debt, and has a floating debt of only a few hundred thousand dollars. It is one of the great rural States, producing

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the largest amount of corn and swine, standing second in the production of flax, and ranking among the foremost six in the raising of wheat. Nature has given the State a beautiful rolling country, a soil of wonderful fertility, a climate admirably adapted to agriculture and health, albeit very warm in summer and very cold in winter, a bountiful provision of mines and forests, and a noble privilege of rivers. But its greatest good fortune has been the sturdy honesty and energy of its settlers, from 1846 until now.

Scott County is one of the river counties in the eastern part of Iowa. It claims to be the most prosperous of Iowa counties, but very likely Polk or Dubuque, or half a dozen other counties, would not indorse the claim; and it is not for an Iowan to take sides in an unseemly manner.

But there is no question that it is one of the wealthiest and most thriving of the counties. It has all the gifts of nature and of conduct belonging to the interior, with "the reason firm, the temperate will" of its own. It has never been swept from its moorings by any "craze"; it has never had a "boom;" it believes in honest money, in a moderate use of the good things of life (including wine, spirits, and malt liquors), in the full payment of debts, and in the protection of individual rights and property. It has a population of 43,164, and has within its borders one city—Davenport—with a population of 30,000, and several villages. The total recorded real-estate mortgage debt in force January 1, 1890, was $1,450,355, making the average for each person $72. The average amount of debt for each person in the State is $104; and the counties of the State range in their per capita debt from $36 in Dallas and $49 in Henry to Osceola's $208 and Woodbury's $258.

A simple arithmetical calculation will show that the Scott County citizen has more than three times as much property per capita as he has debt, and this without taking into account the large diminution in mortgages made by the great crop of 1891. It is not likely that as much as 20 per cent of the farms are encumbered. The rate of interest has fallen to 6 and 7 per cent from the 30 to 50 per cent that used to claw the life out of the old settler.

The Scott County poor-house sheltered on the first day of 1890 45 wretched fugitives from the battle of life. On the first day of 1891 there were 37 men and 5 women; on the first day of 1894 the number was only increased by one woman; so that whether or no the hard times pressed heavily on the poor, they did not crowd them

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into the poor-house. It is quite safe to compute the number of different people receiving aid from the county during the year as well under 1,000.

It is a charitable county, with a spirit of neighborliness and a Western good humor even in its public benevolence. There is an old women's home established by the beneficence of a woman, the late Mrs. Clarissa C. Cook; and a home for worn-out old farmers of the county, which was given and endowed by Nicholas Fejervary, one of the prominent citizens of the county. Both establishments are carefully and generously conducted, and are provided lavishly with comforts and in many cases with luxuries. The old women and the old men visit their friends at will; and a generous supply of car-tickets on the street railways of the city is distributed. Once, in the old women's home, the question of permitting the inmates to take patent medicines came up; and the medicines were unanimously allowed. "It may shorten their lives," said the chief speaker in their behalf, philosophically; "but they will have enough more comfort taking the stuff while they do live to make up for it!" For the same kindly reason snuff was held not to be contraband; and a veteran old smoker is allowed to smoke her pipe in the safe seclusion of the cellar. An industrial home in the city of Davenport is carried on by a long-established relief society to which all religions and all nationalities contribute both money and the workers' time.

The county and the town, indeed, have rather a perilous reputation for "being good to the poor," which has attracted more attention than the almoners of their bounty desire. Not only the poor within their gates have town and county helped, but almost every cry of distress, be it fire, or water, or wind, or pestilence, or hunger that has appealed to the compassion of the world during the generation since the war, has met with a response from hearts and purses.

To the writer it is a further proof of well-being that the county should be so scantily provided with Populists. Prosperous communities may be Republican or they may be Democratic; but they never are of the party of calamity. It is the unsuccessful men and the communities slipping down hill, that grasp at rainbows.

Much of the solid conservatism of Scott County is due to the large German element. The better class of Germans bring from their own paternal government a passionate love of personal liberty. It is needed in these days of "the new slavery"; when the sanctity of individual rights is flung away like old rags, and promoters of a

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new hand-made millennium would punish greed, cruelty, and brains with the same Artegal's flail.

Contented we are, as most men. Even the farmer is contented —for a farmer. For even as horse-trading allures the most honest of men into double-dealing, so does dependence on the Lord in the matter of rain and sunshine mysteriously incline a man to gloom. Making this allowance for his profession, the Scott County farmer is cheerful. He has reason. There are few better farms to be found. The land rolls in gentle hills, richly wooded, and threaded by streams where the sleek cattle stand knee-deep, under the willows. As they lift their heads to watch the traveller, he may notice how many Jerseys are among them. Now, the hay-fields shine with a flaxen stubble like a child's head; the corn is tasselling above the drooping green leaves; the oat-fields and the barley-fields are bare; but the great barns are full. Amid the grain-fields are great sweeps of green spikes—the famous Scott County onions, and fields of potatoes; and the hillsides are trellised with vines. There are many orchards; and small fruit does well, as do most vegetables. The onions, melons, and strawberries of the county have a noble repute. The onions are known the world over, we please ourselves with thinking. The strawberries' reputation is circumscribed by their own fragility; but our strawberries, especially those from one long-established farm, are of exceptional size and flavor. Farm land in the county sells for an average price of $45 to $65 an acre—without buildings. With buildings their price is added. Farm-houses are of wood, well weather-boarded and shingled and painted. Immense barns, with their dark-red sides and sloping roofs, give a touch of homely plenty to the landscape. Here and there a windmill noiselessly swings its great blades. There is likely to be a hedge of Lombardy poplars shading the front yard and the well-sweep, and old-fashioned marigolds and sweet-williams thriving close to the rows of onions and tomatoes in the large kitchen-garden. Poor and small is the house that has not its piazza and its window-screens.

What the county needs most is good roads. The dirt highways are in fair order for eight months out of the twelve; during the remaining four they are the cause of discomfort, loss, anger, and profanity. They make the farms lonesome, they prevent the hiring of help for the farmer's wife, they interfere sorely with the marketing of crops, they wear out wagons and horses and men's souls. Yet in spite of his roads the Scott County farmer lives in great comfort.

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His daughter has a piano, and his wife a silk gown. The pioneer farmer is disappearing. A few remain among us, rugged old Spartans, unlettered, but full to the brim of a homely and sarcastic shrewdness wrung out of life itself instead of books, weather-beaten and toil-beaten into an outward grimness, but with the kindest hearts in the world. Such a man, but of the heroic mould, was Governor Kirkwood; and a humbler example of the type is "Uncle Zimri Streeter," or "Old Blackhawk," who probably jested more bad bills out of existence than any Iowa legislator. It was he who defeated an exemption law once with a single sentence. "Mr. Speaker," he drawled, in his slow, melancholy voice, "I hope our benevolent friends will not tinker up the law so as to prevent a feller from payin' his debts if he wants to!"

The farmer of to-day is an educated man. He has travelled; he reads the magazines and the papers; and his wife, who is likely to be better educated than he, is beginning timorously to decorate her house. The State University, hampered though it has always been by inevitable poverty, has yet, thanks to the wisdom of its regents, and to a president of remarkable gifts as an executive officer, acquired a brilliant staff of instructors, and has kept in touch with the latest methods of education. There are also more than twenty colleges scattered through Iowa,—a feeble folk many of them but; some of them (especially Iowa College, at Grinnell) conducted by men of ability and strong character; and all of them opening a door into a wider life for the country lads who flock to them. Most of the students have one advantage over students with fuller purses in the famous colleges: they come, they are not sent, and they come with a very eager and persistent desire to learn.

Not long ago, going from one Iowa town to another in the day-coach, where all classes meet, I grew interested in the conversation of two farmers behind me,—so much interested, in fact, that I presently changed my seat to the one behind them in order to secure a view of the speakers. One was an elderly man in black broadcloth rather dusty about the coat-collar. He mopped a strong, brown, kindly face, with a very large white handkerchief. The other's tidy blue coat, russet belt, and pink shirt gave him so sophisticated an air that I assigned him to a city until I heard him refer to "my farm." They began the talk by some valuable statistics (I regret that I should forget them) about horses. The elder man, who had a rich baritone voice with a wide register of inflections, held that there

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was no profit in raising what he called "scrub stock." He used the current *argot* of the soil, but in an educated sort of way, as if for its picturesque force rather than for lack of more correct and formal phrase. The young man's voice was lighter, but mellow and pleasant, with a distinct Western accent; his grammar was good, and he talked fluently; once he quoted Browning, and the elder said that was sense, and asked who was the poet. To the young man's answer he returned a slow nod. "Yes, I've heard tell of him. Nothing difficult to understand 'bout *that*, is there? I haven't much use for poetry, but my daughter belonged to a club, kind of literary club. She went to the university."

"So did I," said the young man; "I took the course in general science."

"Found it helped you out on the farm, too, didn't you?"

"Oh, my, yes! There is no use talking; a farmer, to make money, now-a-days, needs to be an educated man,—a bit of a scientist and a good deal of a business man."

"That's so," agreed the elder man, emphatically; "a man, to be a farmer, can't know too much. But for a man that does know something and has got horse-sense to the bargain, there's plenty of money left in farming, still."

Then they drifted into politics, and I was minded to admire equally the younger man's knowledge of history, which he had in very good trim, and the homespun sense of the old man, who had learned from his own experience.

They were both married, and they both, in thoroughly American fashion, extolled their wives. One confided that his wife always was nervous when he was away, "travelling," although in general a woman that took everything easy, nursed the whole family through scarlet fever, and he (the husband) never saw her look down-hearted once; and the other sympathized with a recital of *his* wife's never wanting him to drive fast horses. They had never met in the flesh before, but during the hour I sat behind them they cemented a solid acquaintance. Yet for all their artless *bonhomie*, I do not envy the rogue who shall presume on it.

The young man was a Republican, and the old man a Democrat; but by uniting in abuse of the Populists they skimmed safely over the ice. Both were "honest-money men," as they called themselves; both believed in a moderate relaxation of the tariff; and both admired him whom with real if not outward respect they named "Old Man

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Cleveland." Why the one should be a Democrat and the other a Republican I cannot say, except as the fat monk who vainly starved himself said to the lean monk who ate to sad satiety with as little advantage to his state, "It was the will of God!"

These good fellows came from the interior. So much the better for the interior, thought I; but we have their like on many a Scott County farm. In the interior the farmer has a far harder life than with us; because the farmer of the far Western counties has not yet emerged from the pioneer stage. The farmer of Scott County is what the farmer on myriads of homesteads, farther West, will be in another generation. At the old settlers' reunions they tell of farmers making their own plough-beams and handles, and of men of substance scouring the country to raise twenty-five cents needed to take a letter out of the post-office. Garland has described these dramas of toil and struggle, to the life; and he, better than any one, has painted the eternal and varying beauty encompassing the toilers. But it should be remembered that he is painting the lives of the first husbandmen of the soil,—the pioneers, the men who have literally to dig their farms out of the earth. Their "ferocious" toil gives place to a gentler pastoral as the country becomes developed.

Three-fourths of the population of Scott County are not rural, but urban, belonging to the 30,000 Davenport residents, not counting the odd thousand in Le Claire and the hundreds in the smaller villages that dot the whole country at small intervals.

Davenport is situated picturesquely on the Mississippi, where the river widens and flows about the island of Rock Island. Opposite the town, on the Illinois side of the river, are the pretty cities of Moline and Rock Island. The three towns are a centre of more than 60,000 people, and, as Davenport is the largest, her accessible population is reflected in the large business done by her banks as well as in her handsome shops and her daily journals.

Once the country all about the city was the resort of innumerable flocks of grouse and ducks. Boys would go out before breakfast and come back with a brace of prairie-chicken at their belts. But now—

> "They drum no more, those splendid springtime pickets;
> The sweep of share and sickle has thrust them from the hills:
> They have scattered from the meadow, like partridge in the thickets—
> They have perished from the sportsman who kills and kills and kills!"

The meadows where they used to beat their *reveillé* are turned into gardens, and their only shelter now would be among the potato

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or melon vines. Davenport is become a manufacturing town,—not enough of one yet, however, to stain the skies. The Davenporters are accustomed to say that in no town of its size are there handsomer shops, solider banks, or more contented and prosperous working-people. The manufactories are not on so large a scale as the great works in Moline, but are more diversified. They include lumber, agricultural implements, flour-mills, glucose, metal wheels, sashes and blinds, barrels, foundries, pumps, and some smaller industries. The town streets are carved through the bluffs, and their sticky soil is paved with brick or macadamized. Trees are everywhere,—on the boulevards which skirt the humblest streets; shading beautiful lawns or tiny yards and flower-beds; growing in the little parks that make the children's playgrounds,—maples, elms, birches, and oaks: it would seem as if every householder in town, and his father before him, must have planted them! It is the wholesome aim of the Western architect to build detached houses; and in the Western towns every house of any pretensions has its own wide lawn and its own trees. The poorest cottages in Davenport, if they are owned by the dwellers, are sure to have green grass around them and a garden in the rear. And the wee lawns will be kept as daintily as the larger ones. Window gardens prosper, and the Virginia-creeper stipples the church walls with green in summer and the vividest scarlet in autumn. Many towns have costlier mansions; but no Western town of my knowledge has such a universal trim smartness. In summer, when the lawns are shaven and the windows brave with gardenias and geraniums and every graceful, creeping, green vine, and the fresh paint helps the old houses to a new youth, the town is like a pretty woman in a clean print gown, with a flower in her belt.

There are not many great fortunes in the town, and no fortune swollen in a day; the gentry of the place are unassuming people who read more than the people of great cities, who travel a great deal (not always to Europe), who give many small companies among themselves, and only give one or two balls in a lifetime—on great occasions, such as the coming out of a daughter or the marriage of a son. The younger men and women study their apparel and would pass muster in any of the cities; but the older and richer a man grows the more he is likely to evolve his own ideas of comfort in his clothes. The town has many clubs of all kinds. The women have literary clubs. The men have the usual club, with rather a plainer home and a better cook and wine-cellar than such clubs have in the

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smaller cities. There is a shooting-club to which most of the prominent citizens belong, whether they shoot or not; and an outing-club, which has beautiful grounds and a pretty club-house, and is trying to teach the Davenporters to bowl on the green. Thanks to the 60,000 people within range of the bill-poster's brush, there are amusements of a good class during the winter; and not only the richer people, but most of the wide circle known as "well-to-do," go to Chicago if any peculiar dramatic or musical attraction appear. It is a town (like all Iowa towns) where the personal qualities have more to say about the individual's position than either money or family. Yet, more than in many Western towns, family is regarded, and certain decayed gentle-people live in a posthumous grandeur and respect. Being so small a town, all circles touch. Employers know their men, and the men have a more familiar acquaintance with their employers than is possible in the immense establishments of the cities.

Mr. Howells' traveller from Altruria, before he shakes the dust of our country from his feet and goes away to weep over us, should come for a brief space to a Western town. There he might find manufacturers who voluntarily advance wages, and workingmen who voluntarily work over-time. In fact, the place for a workingman who wishes to live in peace and rise in the social scale is not in the cities, but in the small towns. The Iowa workman's condition is being investigated with much care and judgment by the present labor-commissioner, Mr. O'Bleness. He has sent out reports of a hundred and fifty circular letters sent to workingmen asking them in regard to their earnings, their membership in labor unions, their savings, and their ownership of their homes. I have the last two reports before me. They deal with a hundred men. The first fifty reported an average annual wage-income of $624. The wages ran from $26.87, received weekly by locomotive engineers, to the $3 of a clerk. Twenty-three of the fifty owned their homes, only six having any encumbrance on them. The average mortgage was $360. The average monthly rental was $9.45, and the average number of rooms occupied by each family was five. Eighteen reported savings, averaging $221.72 during the year. This first fifty lived in the larger towns; the second fifty had neither as high wages nor as high rent to pay. They averaged $517.72 wages yearly, and paid an average rent of $5.97. The average number of rooms occupied was the same. In the latter fifty the rooms ranged from ten to two. Twenty-one owned their homes. Ten had mortgages on them. Two

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of the homes had ten rooms each. Sixteen reported savings averaging $194.43. Two men had saved $400 each,—a fireman and a butter-maker. A stationary engineer on $6 a week, with a wife and family, somehow pinched $100 out of his tiny income. Twenty-seven of the first, and fourteen of the second fifty, belonged to labor organizations. Those who did not belong, and condemned them (which some did, roundly), generally did so on account of their strike feature. A farm laborer expressed the common feeling concisely: he did not join "because," said he, "I think they cause men to lose good jobs quite often."

Studying these reports, one is struck by two features in the evident high average of the condition of the writers, both in intelligence and comfort, and the exceeding cheapness of the living in Iowa towns and villages, which have made this possible in spite of wages which in some cases would scare a Pullman striker. After all, Micawber is a safer guide for the workingman than Marx; and the waiting philosopher's dictum that it is the sum saved, and not the sum received, that counts, is surer than the iron law of wages.

Davenport is known in labor circles as "the scab town." I spoke of the nickname once to some mechanics at work on a house. It was during the great strike, at the critical moment when Mr. Sovereign had advised the Knights of Labor to lay aside their tools and meditate.

"You have not struck, I see," said I. "Struck!" repeated a painter who was oiling woodwork with a skilful hand. "I guess it would be like hunting a needle in a haystack to find a man who has struck in this town. We ain't that kind of fools!" I ventured the remark that I had heard there were not many union men in town; it was called the "scab town." The men laughed. "I guess that's right," said a carpenter; "but all the same there's not a town in the country where more workingmen own their homes, or where there's more workingmen's money in the savings-bank or invested in shares in factories." "Now you're talking," chimed in the painter; "nor there ain't a town where there's a kindlier feeling between employers and their men,—no, sir!"

There is one distinct advantage that the provincial workingman enjoys; he counts for more as an individual. Besides the physical helps of better air and cheaper living, he has the indefinite but steady working help of respect from the other classes. The workingman in the city is flattered by the politicians and the newspapers; but he is not respected. In the country, John Smithers, the best foreman

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in the shop, is consulted by the head of the firm, has his wages paid when he is ill, knows every one on his street, and is asked to run for alderman, not as a labor candidate, but as the best man of his party. In the provinces, the workingman is a man and a citizen before he is a workingman; in the cities he is fast growing to be a workingman, not only first, but last.

I recall an alderman, a worthy man who had won a little competency with his own hard hands. When he was nominated, he rose in his working-clothes and cast a friendly glance over the room. "Well, boys," he said, "you know me. I ha'n't the eddication to make a grand speech, and ye've heard that little cretur over there" (contemptuous wave at an opponent) "say I cud n't write me own name widout helpin'. Maybe I can, and maybe I cannot; but wan thing I *can* do; if you elict me, I can git Rock Island Street put into shape so there won't no more tames stick there!" He was elected.

A typical workingman of our Western town often goes by my window. He is a carpenter who has become in a modest way a master-builder. He does not look to be thirty years old, but he has already bought him a house, with a yard and a garden and a little barn where he keeps his horse. Before I knew him I was sure that he had plenty of work, he always walked with such a light, swinging step and showed his white teeth so cheerfully at the children that he met. After a while I grew to know him, and to fall into desultory talks with him about the weather, the new house on the corner, and finally the great strike. From his talk I soon perceived that he not only read the papers and the magazines, but more serious works; and, as is common with the workingman when he does read, his reading was not the usual skimming, but serious study. He had forged out for himself an opinion, sometimes not in the least that which his writer would have presented to him for the mere glance of an eye, but in every case a careful, thoughtful judgment, distinguished generally for that quality we in the West term "horse-sense." "No," said he, "I never joined a union; I never was willing to chase a man out of a job just because he did n't belong to a union; and I never was willing to farm out my liberty to any set of talkers, either. I believe that doing a good job will get a man better wages and keep them for him better than any union on earth. And sometimes I think the employers would treat the men better if they weren't for ever and ever being riled up by walking-delegates and committees. First, these fellers stir up the men to think they are

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being awfully abused, and then they mad the employers, who are losing money (which doesn't put a man in good temper anyhow), until they get their backs up, and then there's a strike. I think it would be better if employers would explain things more to the men,—just talk to them as man to man. American workmen ain't unreasonable, and when they have confidence in a man they'll take a pretty stiff reduction and bear it, particularly if he promises them to put wages back as soon as business will justify him. I tell you it *pays* an employer to treat his men fair and square. There isn't a class of people in the world that will go through more and be truer to a man they believe in than the workingman; and there are some employers right in this town have found that out!"

Some day, if he lives, this young mechanic will have a number of employees of his own; he will be a contractor; he will accumulate property; he may represent us in the legislature. Well, we shall be safe in his hands.

The workingman's best opportunity in the provinces is this fluidity of conditions. Not only does it make an Arabian Nights' elevation possible to the poorest; it has a farther-reaching, more subtly-pervasive power: it mingles all classes together, and creates that indescribable atmosphere of human friendliness which is the deepest spiritual charm of the West. An intimate acquaintance with less-favored lives is the surest cement of society; perhaps that is why its structure stands firmest in the quiet Western provinces. For this open-handed willingness to touch other lots and "help those who cannot help again," this feeling that nothing human is foreign to any man or woman, and the divine hopefulness that accompanies it, are as Western as our prairies and our sky.

And that is why we of the West, in spite of all her crude and violent faults (so patiently and perspicuously explained to us by our true friends of the East), love her and believe in her. The little segment of the West that I have tried to describe is not in Altruria; it is in Iowa, and it is quite content with its geography. It is founded on the rights of the individual rather than those of the community; it has no sympathy with socialistic dreams; it is just a Western town of honest, hard-working, kindly, decently selfish men and women who are not working for the golden age of brotherhood, but to provide for their families; yet nowhere do I know of any place where there is less friction between the classes, or where all classes help each other more along our rough and checkered road.

OCTAVE THANET.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JAPAN-CHINA WAR.

JAPAN has entered upon the present war with China with the negative purpose of protecting her own interests in particular, and of preserving the general and permanent peace in the East. But the war really has a wider significance,—it is a struggle between progress and stagnation. Japan's success means the extension of modern civilization into Corea, and the opening of her wealth to the world. China's success, on the other hand, means the continuance of Corean incapacity; and this, sooner or later, is likely to yield to Russian despotism.

Those who are not familiar with recent diplomacy in the East, and depend on the daily dispatches, may be at a loss to know the real cause and the significance of the present crisis. As most of the dispatches come through Chinese and English hands, they are sometimes grossly distorted. Both in English and American papers I find arguments to show that Japan is wantonly disturbing the peace in the interest of national ambition. I freely admit that Japan has an ambition to become the leading power in the East, and to be classed among the great nations of the world. Indeed, because of the impulse of this ambition, she has made progressive strides during the last thirty years. But it is a gross mistake to infer that Japan has wantonly precipitated the present trouble. Ever since Japan came into close contact with foreign countries, her established policy has been to elevate her position only through peaceful means, such as the introduction of railway, telegraphic, and postal systems; the establishment of national compulsory education and competitive examinations for the civil service; the revision of the entire fiscal and monetary system; the radical improvement of the police and jail systems; the enactment of new and enlightened criminal and civil laws; the adoption of new methods of judicial procedure; the reconstruction of local government; the promulgation of a written constitution, and the substitution of a parliamentary government for the absolute monarchical government. As to the foreign relations, all political parties in Japan have had it in their creed to "endeavor to strengthen the commercial relations with foreign countries, and to avoid diplomatic complications as much as possible."

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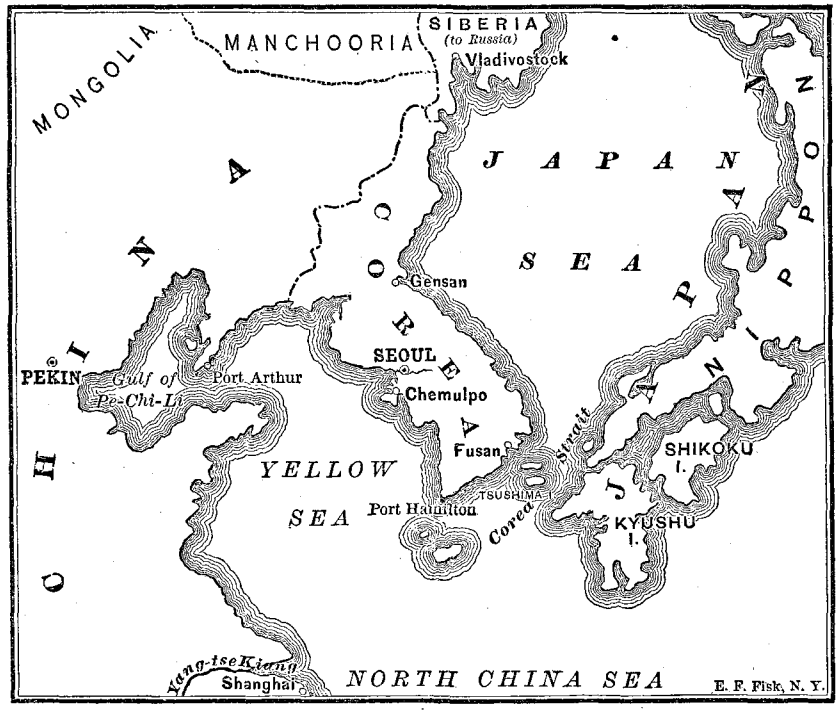
It is only since the ever-increasing pressure of the territorial aggrandizement of the European powers was keenly felt that Japan began to strengthen her military equipment: it is only since the collision between Russia and England began to affect the vital interests of Japan that she adopted a definite foreign policy. To understand this policy, we must glance at the recent history of international relations in the East.

During the last forty years the seat of the Eastern question has been constantly moving from the West to the East: from Eastern



Europe to Central Asia, thence to Eastern Asia and the North Pacific. Russia in 1858 succeeded in obtaining from China the cession of eastern Siberia, with Vladivostock as her port on the Pacific. This gave Russia an outpost for undermining British interests in the South China Sea. Thus the North Pacific became the seat of the struggle between England and Russia; and Russia has ever since been strengthening the defences at Vladivostock with all possible speed. The building of the famous Trans-Siberian railway is part of the grand scheme of defence. Russian activity does not, however, stop here; on the contrary, she is acting toward Corea in an ever-increasingly aggressive

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spirit, her immediate desire being to get a better seaport than Vladivostock, which is ice-bound for weeks every winter, and she is further trying to get out to the Yellow Sea through Manchooria and Mongolia.

Now let us look at the English side. Previous to this period England had been extending her interests in South China at the expense of China. But now Russian encroachments upon British interests, from both Central Asia and the North Pacific, have caused England to perceive the necessity of forming an alliance with China. Sir Charles Dilke, the author of "Problems of Greater Britain," says:

"There can be no doubt that an alliance between England and China in Central Asia is a natural result of the present state of things. Russia and China have 4,000 miles of common frontier, and England and China desire to maintain the *status quo*, and are able to strike powerful blows for its maintenance. China will have for some years to come a considerable superiority over Russia at certain points upon the frontier, and could take offensive action against Russia more easily than either Great Britain or Afghanistan. . . . The alliance of China, which is very important in a general scheme of imperial defence, has, however, little bearing upon this special problem. . . . On the other hand, in the policy of attacking Russia on the Pacific, which for some years to come, until her means of communication are complete, will be the most effective way of meeting an attack by her on us, the Chinese alliance would be of moment and would paralyze the Russian advance."

Thus we easily see the importance for English interests of the Anglo-Chinese alliance; it lies not only in the fact that by this arrangement England secured a strong ally for the protection of her South-China trade against the Russian attack, and for the prevention of the Russian inroads through Manchooria and Mongolia, but also and chiefly in the fact that by reason of this alliance England can, in the event of war with Russia, deal a heavy blow upon Russia at Vladivostock. Notwithstanding Russia's strenuous efforts to strengthen her position on the Pacific, the defence of Vladivostock is yet far from being complete. Several years must elapse before the great Siberian railway is completed. It is therefore evident that Russia could not single-handed withstand the attack of the combined Anglo-Chinese fleets. But as long as Russia regards Vladivostock as an essential portion of her empire, and one from which the future descent upon the Pacific is to be made, she must fight to the bitter end to keep that port. Therefore the policy of attacking Russia at Vladivostock would be as effective in paralyzing the Russian advance in Central Asia as the attack made by England in the Crimea. Such have been until lately the relations between England, Russia, and China.

In view of this situation great was the surprise when it appeared

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this year that a Russo-Chinese *entente* had been entered into. This much is known about the *entente*, that China has tacitly acquiesced in Russia's accepting a port on the northern coast of Corea, as a coaling-station, on condition that the Russian troops should be removed from a portion of the Pamirs over which China claims territorial sovereignty. It is not improbable that this secret understanding may go further and lead to an entire change of the balance of power in Central Asia and the Pacific. Its immediate result, however, is the precipitation of the collision of the British and Russian interests in the Pacific. It compels England to push further her policy of attacking Russia from the Pacific before the Siberian railway is completed. The feasibility of this policy depends, in the absence of the Chinese alliance, upon the success of England in securing a seaport in Corea within reach of Vladivostock as a base of operations. It was with this in view that England, in 1885, occupied Port Hamilton, on the southern coast of Corea, during the threatened breach with Russia on the Murghab question. England abandoned it only because the clearest possible understanding was reached that China would continue to be friendly to England and withstand with her the Russian encroachments. Should the necessity again occur, England would have no hesitation in seizing any seaport on which she could lay her hands,—a necessity now arising in view of the recent Russo-Chinese *entente*. Thus we see that Central Asia and the North Pacific are closely connected strategically, and in case of a collision between Russia and England the Japan Sea would become a battle-field for the fleets of these rival powers and their allies. Such a conflict would inflict an immense amount of damage on the combatants and an injury upon the whole world. But the countries which would suffer most are Japan and Corea, both of which lie between the combatants.

It therefore became an imperative necessity for Japan to adopt a definite policy to meet the impending crisis. Some among her leaders argued that Japan could most advantageously join the Anglo-Chinese alliance; while others proposed that Japan should form a triple alliance with Russia and France. But either course is not without serious drawbacks. Therefore, after deliberate consideration, Japan reached the conclusion that in the present state of affairs she ought to remain aloof from any alliance, but do her utmost to prevent an outbreak between Russia and England on the Pacific. To make this policy effective, Japan found it absolutely necessary in the first place to have an army and navy powerful enough to make her

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voice a casting-vote between the contending parties; and, in the second place, to secure Corea's independence against the encroachments of any power. If you examine the map of the East, you will easily see that Japan and Corea hold the key of the North China Sea and the Japan Sea respectively, in Tsushima and Fusan. If they are fortified strongly, the Japan Sea becomes impregnable from any southern attack. Port Hamilton, even if occupied again by the British, would be rendered useless as an offensive station for the attack at Vladivostock. In like manner the Russian fleets would not be able to get out to the China Sea. From the strategical point of view, Tsushima and Fusan can be compared with Constantinople in the Mediterranean, and Corea itself to Turkey or the Balkan Peninsula. The importance of their situation would be greatly increased by the completion of the Siberian railway.

Under these circumstances Japan has spared no effort to fortify the island of Tsushima. It is now placed in direct communication with the nearest Japanese naval station, and also with the nearest military land station. At the same time Japan has been doing her best to increase her naval and military forces. Her navy is already strong enough to inflict a heavy blow on any power in the Pacific, perhaps of such severity as to make her voice the casting-vote in the Pacific question. In this manner she would be able to keep the gate of the Japan Sea shut to both English and Russians as long as Corea maintains her independence and Fusan remains unoccupied by either of them.

But how about Corean independence? Is Corea strong enough to resist an unlawful seizure of Fusan or any other important port by any foreign power? No. About the helplessness and incapacity of the government enough is known. If left alone Corea will before long fall into the hands of some aggressive foreign power,—a fate which Japan can positively not allow.

If once Corea, or even the port of Fusan, should fall into the hands of Russia or England, Japan's situation in the Pacific would at once become precarious. Not only would the Japan Sea be turned into a battle-field of the rival powers, in the event of an outbreak between England and Russia, but also the defence of Tsushima Island against the aggressive hand of either Russia or England would become eminently difficult; for the distance between Tsushima and Fusan is less than fifty miles, and the power which seized one of them would naturally try to occupy the other, which forms with it the gate of the

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Japan Sea. Japan, therefore, found it imperatively necessary to lend her support to Corea to secure the latter's independence.

Besides these considerations of international interest, however, Japan has an old historical relation with Corea which imposes upon her certain moral obligations to lend her support to Corea. It is not necessary here to refer to events of far-off ages, such as the importation of the Corean civilization into Japan. It is sufficient for the present purpose to recall what Japan has done for Corea in comparatively recent years. It was Japan that first opened the Hermit Kingdom to the beneficent influences of modern civilization: it was Japan that introduced Corea to the world as an independent State. Such being the case, it is the duty of Japan to help the little kingdom to secure its independence and to grow in prosperity and power.

Under these circumstances it is not at all surprising that Japan adopted a positive policy for the maintenance of Corean independence. To carry out this policy two measures must be taken: in the first place, internal affairs in Corea must be thoroughly reformed so that she can develop her resources for self-protection; and in the second place her independence must be guaranteed by the powers interested. But the latter measure is supplementary to the former, and must go together with it. Of the states concerned in Corea, Japan and China have the largest interests,—interests, too, that are almost identical. It is therefore to the advantage of China as well as of Japan that the two countries should co-operate in guaranteeing Corea's independence without drawing in any third power. If an international device like a congress of nations, including other powers than China and Japan, is to be called at all to guarantee Corea's independence, it must be resorted to only as the last means.

In pursuance of the policy defined above, Japan has never wavered during the last twenty-five years. Why, then, is not a joint control of Corean affairs feasible? Is not China ready to act harmoniously with Japan? Or, if co-operation is impossible, cannot China alone be trusted to supervise Corean affairs in the joint interest of China and Japan? The answer is that China cannot be trusted, as bitter experience has shown to the Japanese in the past ten years.

What is that experience? Since 1876, commerce between Corea and Japan has steadily increased until Japan became the principal commercial country represented in Corea, and the number of Japanese residents became larger than that of the citizens of all other countries put together. Naturally the Japanese influences gradually increased,

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and several schemes of reform and improvement have been introduced and wrought out. Meanwhile, this state of things aroused China's jealousy and suspicion to the utmost. She spared no efforts to obstruct and defeat all the schemes of reform and improvement introduced through Japanese influences. In spite of the fact that Corea's independence had been recognized by foreign powers, and China herself has on two occasions explicitly disavowed any responsibility for matters concerning the Corean government, first to the French and secondly to the Americans, China has always tried to revive her worn-out sovereignty over Corea.

Thus the conflict between two rival influences went on until it culminated in the cruel and terrible *coups d'état* of 1882 and 1884. On each occasion the Japanese Legation in Seoul, the capital of Corea, was burned, and the Japanese representative was obliged to flee for his life. If Japan wished to protect her interests at the point of the bayonet she had grounds for doing so. But the desire to keep on good terms with China induced her to settle the matter amicably. The trouble, therefore, was eventually settled in the Tien-Tsin convention of 1885 between Li Hung Chang and Count Ito, who was then the Japanese ambassador and is now prime minister. The convention was a distinct disavowal on the part of China of any suzerain rights over Corea, and a mutual acknowledgment by both countries that neither should interfere by force of arms in the affairs of Corea without notifying the other. In other words, this convention established a concurrent negative guarantee of Corean independence.

In fact, however, this convention had no moral weight in restricting the dealings of China with the Corean government. China managed to station her soldiers in Seoul, as before, disguised as merchants. She exercised her alleged suzerainty over Corea without showing any sense of responsibility. Japan tried in vain to keep on good terms with China and to get China's concurrence in reforming Corea. Almost all schemes inaugurated through Japanese influence had to be abandoned. The first post-office on the modern plan, which was established at Seoul in 1884, was destroyed, it is said, by people incited by Chinese agents. The new mint, which was erected in 1889 for the purpose of reforming the Corean currency, was shut up soon afterward, owing to the active opposition of China. Time and again legitimate commerce has been deliberately interrupted, entailing a large loss, particularly upon Japanese merchants. What is worse, China secretly exercised practical suzerainty over the Corean kingdom.

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With the development of foreign trade and foreign intercourse, the Corean spirit of independence might have grown, but Chinese domineering completely checked such growth. China interferes unscrupulously in Corean domestic affairs, but she is irresponsible. The Coreans, therefore, feel only the weight of China's hand without receiving its support. The only administrative privileges they enjoy with some measure of freedom are those of extortion and peculation. In this way a kingdom with a fertile soil, a temperate climate, abundant mineral resources, and above all a most advantageous geographical position, remains in an utterly impoverished condition, and, with an area of 79,000 square miles and a population of 11,000,000, is made incapable of continuing its own existence.

In all this, China is directly playing into Russian hands; for this helplessness is exactly what Russia wants. Russia has long since viewed Corea as an apple ripening to its fall, and China as a gardener not strong enough to guard it or to pick it up; and Russia saw the opportunity and approached Corea with hidden hands. Ever since the opening of Corea, her foreign trade has been carried on in three open ports,—Fusan, Chemulpo, and Gensan; but in 1886, two years after the *coup d'état* above referred to, Russia succeeded in persuading the Corean government to open a market for overland trade. Thus was opened the first door for the customary "sapping" policy of Russia, which had so well succeeded previously in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. And mark that the Corean representative in this negotiation was a German by birth, and was made the adviser of the Corean government for foreign affairs by the influence of Li Hung Chang!

How, then, under these circumstances, can Japan recognize, contrary to her long-standing policy, the Chinese claim of suzerainty over Corea and entrust the guardianship of Corea in China's hands alone? The immediate cause of the present crisis in the East is an attempt on the part of China to assume just such a function as her prerogative. To this we now turn.

Since 1884, as we saw, China's influence in Corea has rapidly increased, while the influence of Japan has correspondingly diminished. China has long been looking for an opportunity to thwart completely the policy of Japan, and once for all to place Corea in a definite relationship of dependency toward herself. Finally, this opportunity presented itself. The Corean people, who have been for a long time groaning under the extortion and maladministration of the officials, were in the spring of this year driven to desperation. A

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number of men who called themselves the Tong Hak party rose in arms. The insurrection increased in size and strength so rapidly that the government troops were repeatedly defeated. Greatly alarmed by this, the pro-Chinese party, which then had the control of the government, applied for Chinese assistance. It is believed that it was through the instigation of the Chinese Resident, Yuan, that the Corean government took this course. The request was immediately responded to, and a body of Chinese troops embarked for Corea. But China did not give any notice of her intention to dispatch troops to Corea until the first batch had actually landed there.

This is a plain breach of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the Tien-Tsin treaty, for the treaty, in order to be effective, must be understood to require a previous—not a subsequent—notice of the dispatch of troops into Corea. Japan considered it useless to complain seriously against such a matter. The treaty itself had long since become a dead letter. It had no moral weight in restricting the crafty dealings of the Chinese government. As soon as the Japanese government received the notice from China, it sent an immediate answer that it would also send troops for the protection of Japanese subjects and interests, deeming it necessary and having the privilege of doing so. It is not improbable that the Chinese viceroy, who remembered that the Japanese government did not send any troops to Corea on a similar occasion in 1884, supposed that it would be less able on this occasion to send any considerable body of soldiers, on account of the constant struggles of internal Japanese politics. Perturbed by the unexpected result, however, the viceroy resorted to his customary diplomacy. A series of declarations that a large Chinese force had left China for Corea was made on the one hand; on the other a request was made for the withdrawal of the Japanese troops.

At this point the Japan government declined China's request, and at the same time made a proposal for united action with the object of effecting thorough reforms in Corea, saying:

"On account of its geographical situation, the ever-increasing disorders in the Corean kingdom materially affect the vital interests of both China and Japan, and threaten to create a dangerous crisis; therefore Japan proposes, in concert with China, to persuade Corea to introduce thorough reforms in her internal government, so that all danger of future disorders may be avoided; and, in thus acting, Japan's object is purely to promote the independence of Corea and maintain peace in the East."

This expedient furnished the only chance of an amicable and satisfactory settlement of the Corean question. But China positively

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rejected this proposal, and at the same time demanded the withdrawal of the Japanese troops simultaneously with those of China, on the ground that the insurrection had been quieted.

The presence of the Chinese and Japanese forces in Corea might have quieted the insurrection for a while. But unless radical steps were taken to remove the existing causes, similar disturbances would perpetually recur with all their international contingencies. The simultaneous withdrawal of the troops meant by no means the removal of the existing causes, but merely the prolongation of their existence. China's secret domineering would, as ever, crush independent aspirations. China's corrupt influence would check forever the growth of progressive tendencies. The extortion and maladministration of local officers would prevail as before. The intrigues of factions would threaten, as ever, to involve resort to alien interference.

The history of the ten years since the Tien-Tsin convention conclusively proves the futility of a concurrent negative guarantee of Corean independence. The only effective method of securing Corean independence is the immediate adoption of the policy of positive guarantee. But China having positively declined to take any concerted action for that purpose, Japan at once decided on its sole responsibility to undertake the task of placing Corean affairs once for all upon a basis consistent with the programme of independent development. Japan immediately approached the Corean government and recommended the adoption of internal reforms, such as the complete reorganization of the civil service and the financial and police systems, the remodelling or rather the establishment of an army and navy, the introduction of means of communication, and the like. The Corean government showed an inclination to accept the proposal. If China had then stopped all further attempts to block Japan's course in Corea, the dispute would have been checked and the present crisis might have been avoided. But of course such acquiescence meant to China an imposition upon herself of a certain measure of self-effacement in Corea. China would not suffer this. She then solicited the mediation of foreign ministers. But in the presence of the fact that China had positively refused concerted action, and of the fact that the Chinese Resident and Commander in Corea still continued to declare Corea a dependency of China, Japan naturally shrank from accepting any premature though kindly meant mediation of third powers. At the same time Japan is not utterly insensible to the urgent desire of all the Western powers for peace. She would have agreed to a com-

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promise, if there were any fair means by which her original policy toward Corea could be carried out in substance. Negotiation followed negotiation until the suspense was broken by China's resumption of a menacing attitude.

In accordance with the methods of Chinese diplomacy, China had been collecting a considerable army, in order to enforce by intimidation her demand for the withdrawal of Japanese troops. She now made a second and peremptory demand that Japan should withdraw her army and fleet from Corea by July 20. Failing in this, it was announced that China would send her force at once by land and sea. To this ultimatum Japan replied that, since all the leading Western powers were urgent for peace, she would accede to the demand of China in substance, if the latter would promise to enter into a treaty negotiation with Japan for the satisfactory settlement of the Corean affair; but that, pending an amicable settlement, she would consider an advance of China's fleet as an act of war.

At the same time the Corean government, at the instigation of China, changed its front on the question of reform and refused to accept the proposal of the Japanese government; although the king himself was inclined to accept it. Then followed the skirmish at Seoul, the firing by the Corean soldiers upon the Japanese garrison, and the war was begun. This was on the 23d of July. What has since happened is known to all.

Such are the causes and the situation of the present crisis in the East. Such is the policy of Japan. It has been alleged that the Japanese government has, to some extent, made use of the opportunity to distract the attention of her own discontented political parties. But nothing can be more erroneous than to imagine that this is the cause of the present war. The Japanese government is honestly executing the will of the nation. If circumstances require, Japan may, for a considerable length of time, station her troops in Corea as a garrison. But it is none the less erroneous to imagine that Japan secretly harbors any intention of annexing Corea. Not only her sense of honor, but the strongest considerations of interest, forbid such action. The question at issue is solely whether the national life of Corea shall be allowed to continue in independence and progress.

Indeed, Japan's primary object is not to fight China, but to secure Corean independence. Therefore, if China in the future, either as the result of her own reflections or at the instance of Western powers, gives up further endeavor to circumvent Japan's policy in

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Corea, and offers to take concurrent action with Japan in giving a positive guarantee of Corean independence, Japan will be only too glad at any time to give up a burdensome warfare.

It has been supposed by some that the Japanese government has made use of the present trouble in order to divert the attention of the discontented party chiefs from domestic problems. But nothing can be more erroneous. There is another erroneous notion: that the "veneer of civilization" which Japan has put on "cannot withstand the friction of war"; that "if Japan is successful in the present war, the consequences will be important, not only in checking her republican development, but in seriously complicating her foreign relations"; that while Japan has been busy in her arduous task of assimilation and development of modern ideas, "there has been always on the part of the Western nations a half-amused feeling that it was all a pretty farce." These apprehensions arise from the Western distrust of the solidity and sincerity of the rapid progress made by Japan during the last thirty years,—a distrust resting on the erroneous assumption that Japan has attempted to make a sudden bound from a state of semi-civilization to one of complete civilization. Let me try in a few words to disprove this erroneous assumption.

Though for hundreds of years Japan remained practically in seclusion, and her civilization naturally developed slowly and in her own way, yet she was all this time steadily improving in the conditions of her national life, her intellectual and social refinement,—above all in the development of the artistic talent of the people and in preparing herself for the immediate adoption of any new idea or system with which she might come in contact. There was not wanting even a political training. Though the people were subject to the feudal sway for centuries, yet their political instinct was allowed to develop itself under a peculiar system of local government. It was this social culture and this political training which enabled the Japanese to perceive clearly the opportunity to accomplish the great task of national reconstruction in 1868. As to the solidity and sincerity of the changes wrought, history again bears testimony. There is no possibility of a "reversion to barbarism," however high the war fever may run. Although this war, if successful, may prolong for a short while the official life of the present clan government, it is utterly unwarrantable to say that "it will check the republican development" of the country.

MICHITARO HISA.

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TEACHING GREEK AS A LIVING LANGUAGE.

THERE can be no doubt that the study of the classic languages, and of Greek more especially, is indispensable to the formation of a truly cultured mind. If, therefore, it be admitted that the tuition of Greek ought to continue to form part of the curriculum of a liberal education, then the consideration of the mode of teaching and the manner of pronouncing that language is a matter of primary importance. The reason both of the efforts to suppress the study of Greek, and of the blessed contentment with the so-called "ancient pronunciation," is to be sought in the prevailing fallacy that it is a "dead language." This notion is so deeply rooted in the minds even of students of Greek, that it will appear at first a paradox to maintain the contrary. It will nevertheless be my purpose to examine in the following pages the several questions thus raised; and I hope to be able to produce such evidence as will supply light sufficient for their satisfactory solution.

And first, with regard to the benefit and utility of the study of Greek, the whole question turns, of course, upon the condition in life for which a youth is being prepared. If only instruction is being aimed at,—namely, the acquisition of a certain amount of information calculated to equip simply a bread-winner,—it would be useless to waste his time upon the study of the classic tongues. By the same process of reasoning, Euclid, algebra, and, for the matter of that, gymnastics also, should be eliminated from the course of studies of those who are not likely to find such branches of training immediately productive of dollars in the careers which they intend to follow. But I maintain unhesitatingly that no truly liberal education is possible without the study of Greek. It is impossible to imagine a polished gentleman devoid of knowledge of it.

This is not a new "fad." It is an incontrovertible fact, co-existent and co-extensive with Western civilization. The Romans sought by every means to encourage the prevalence of Latin over their Grecian and Eastern conquests. But the Greek language, by virtue of its inherent superiority, not only maintained its own, but

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made a triumphal entry into Rome itself, and cast its magic spell upon the city to such an extent that no Roman was deemed to have received a befitting education unless he knew Greek. And Cato, after combating this invasion during the better part of his life, found himself compelled to learn Greek during his old age. The benefits of this tendency were soon made manifest; for it was only through Greek that Latin literature was enabled to rise into eminence. During the Renaissance the study of Greek literature was the main factor in the intellectual awakening of the Western world; and it is the result of the accumulated experience of many centuries, which has maintained Greek to this day as the corner-stone of all academic training.

At the same time, there were never wanting those who expressed a self-satisfied contempt for a knowledge which they did not possess. This attitude of mind is well expressed in the tirade attributed, in the "Vicar of Wakefield," to the Principal of the University of Louvain, who is made to say:—

"You see me, young man; I never learned Greek, and I don't find I ever missed it. I have had a doctor's cap and gown without Greek; I have 10,000 florins a year without Greek; I eat heartily without Greek; and in short, as I don't know Greek, I don't believe there is any good in it."

But the answer is manifest. Academic training is an end in itself, not a mere preparation for a trade or profession. As Professor S. H. Butcher[1] has pithily said:—

"Its aim is not to turn out doctors, clergy, lawyers, merchants; but men—and now women also—with thoroughly trained minds, minds fortified and enlarged by different discipline, and fitted, not for this or that profession, but for the conduct of life."

The study of Greek is not only a study of language, or of poetry, or of philosophy, or of art; but a study of the spirit which, in ancient Greece, animated all those various expressions of intellectual life, and produced the highest form of intellectual development ever witnessed. And to quote Professor Butcher[2] again:—

"One great charm of Greek literature is, that in reading it we seem to be present at the first awakening of the universal human reason; we seem to watch and overhear it as it became conscious of itself. It does not yet speak quite like a book. It is thinking aloud. It debates with itself, as with an antagonist."

In fact, there is in Greek literature an inspiring, ennobling, stirring, life-giving genius which no other human language can supply. This

[1] "Some Aspects of Greek Genius," p. 201: London, 1891. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

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was felt by the great thinkers and writers of all ages, not least by James Russell Lowell, a typical American himself, and an ardent advocate of the study of Greek. He writes:—

"One of the arguments against the compulsory study of Greek—namely, that it is wiser to give our time to modern languages and modern history than to dead languages and ancient history—involves, I think, a verbal fallacy. Only those languages can properly be called dead in which nothing living has been written. If the classic languages are dead, they yet speak to us, and with a clearer voice than that of any living tongue. If their language is dead, yet the literature it enshrines is crammed with life as perhaps no other writing, except Shakespeare's, ever was or will be. It is as contemporary with to-day as with the ears it first enraptured, for it appeals not to the man of then or now, but to the entire round of human nature itself. . . . We know not whither other studies will lead us, especially if dissociated from this; we do know to what summits, far above our lower region of turmoil, this has led, and what the many-sided outlook thence."

It would be easy to multiply opinions of this kind, the authority of which is incontrovertible. But enough has been said to establish the utility and the benefit to be derived from the study of Greek.

Yet, there are many men of culture and of eminence, mostly professors and students of mathematics and natural science, who, while admitting all this, advocate eliminating Greek from the curriculum of academic studies, and applying to modern languages the time now devoted to it; or, at least, making Greek an optional subject, except in the case of philological and theological students. This opposition can hardly be said to be directed against the Greek language itself; it is argued rather that its study entails eight or nine years of onerous and fruitless labor,—a labor of Sisyphus,—at the end of which time the results obtained are, in most cases, poor, not to say imperceptible. We are bound to admit that these arguments are mainly valid. But they fail to touch the real cause of mischief: they aim at ending what needs only mending.

The manner in which Greek is taught in America and in England is the laborious, pedantic, and antiquated method of three centuries ago; it ends by torturing out of the pupil all love for a language in which he sees nothing more cheering than the dry theory of the rules of grammar. As has been well said,—

"We have tried to mummify Greek, which is still alive, tying it up with the bandages of a dead language, so that in our hands it has ceased to breathe, and can only express itself in such painful sounds as were never heard and cannot by any means be understood in its native country."

This system is now virtually condemned, since it is admitted on all

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hands that some remedy must be applied. The solution of the difficulty should therefore be sought in a radical reform of the existing method of teaching Greek, whereby its acquisition may become more rapid, its study more attractive, and its results more manifest and more abundant. To ensure these advantages Greek should be studied as any other living tongue.

In the case of every other language, except Greek, it is admitted that the only rational and scientific method of becoming acquainted with its ancient literature is to master first its living form, and then to go backward, so to say, learning the tongue in its entirety. No one tries to learn English or German by beginning with Chaucer or the "*Nibelungenlied.*" Yet the difference between those mediæval forms of the two languages and their present style is, if anything, greater than the deviation of the Greek of to-day from the style of the classics. And, as we shall presently see, Greek literature has been transmitted in unbroken succession to the living descendants of the Greek race, and is studied by them at the present day as an integral part of a continuous whole.

A writer, familiar with what is vaguely styled "modern Greek," as well as with the mode of tuition followed in Greece, explains that—

> "—the grammars used in the gymnasia of Greece are similar to those used in the gymnasia of Germany and the public schools of England. Many of them are simply translated from the German. Therefore, to study Greek as a living language would require no change of grammar; the slight differences in the future and infinitive of the verbs could easily be explained *vivâ voce*, as they present no difficulty. The principal difference is in the style of the written language, which is simpler than the classical, to which it thus forms an easy introduction."

It is in an elementary book of this simpler style that pupils of the communal schools in Greece begin to read and write. In the Hellenic schools (a three-years course) they are first initiated into the classics, beginning with the stories of the *Scholasticoi* and the fables of Æsop, and gradually advancing to the "Anabasis" of Xenophon, Plutarch's "Lives," Homer's "Iliad," and parts of Herodotus. In the gymnasia (a course of four years) they take up Demosthenes, Thucydides, the tragic poets, and Pindar. During these seven years the curriculum naturally includes the other usual branches of a liberal education, preparatory to a university course. But a fairly assiduous student, by following this course of Greek, leaves the gymnasium amply equipped in the knowledge of the Greek tongue, which he

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should then be able to master easily in all its various forms, and to write it in a scholarly style.

If this system were adopted wherever Greek is taught, its study would be rendered not only easier, but more attractive and more interesting to the pupil; it would free his mind from the sense of awe, difficulty, and uselessness which is inseparable from the notion of a dead language. The reproach that valuable time has been wasted would disappear; for he would have acquired, with the advantages of a classic training, a living language spoken all through the Levant, possessing a contemporaneous and daily increasing literature and an ably conducted newspaper press.

Not only this, but it will be found that the best, indeed the only sure way to the full comprehension of the niceties and many of the idiomatic sayings in the classics, is through the knowledge of the Greek of to-day. This has been set forth with irresistible force by Coray in his immortal introductions to the Greek classics which he edited, and it has been admitted by many foreign Hellenists, learned enough to appreciate the importance of the study of Greek as an entirety. Many instances might readily be cited of the ludicrous misconceptions, by foreign commentators, of words and expressions in the classics, which any Greek peasant would understand as forming a part of his own vernacular. It is the knowledge of Greek as now spoken which alone can render the study of classic Greek easy, pleasant, and profitable.

The chief obstacle to be apprehended to the introduction of this method is the prejudice of the teachers themselves, who are bound to a misleading tradition, both by habit and by interest. It would be too much to expect of them a voluntary disavowal of their past, and an acknowledgment of their present insufficiency; for the reform of the barbarous pronunciation of Greek now in use in English schools and universities is, of course, an inevitable corollary to the adoption of the system suggested. The pupils themselves would experience no more difficulty in pronouncing Greek as the Greeks do now, than they experience in learning to speak French or German. It is less easy to expect of teachers wedded to a false tradition a ready denunciation of its errors.

The difficulty, however, might be overcome if they were convinced, as they might easily be, that a few weeks' application would enable them to become familiar with the Greek pronunciation of to-day, and with the slight differences between the contracted classic and

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the more analytic recent Greek forms. This would add to their linguistic stock one more living tongue, and would enable them to teach, as such, the most beautiful and most perfect form of human speech.

The gradual transition from the old to the new method of tuition, which we advocate, would be facilitated, and its success ensured, by attaching to each school or university a well-educated native Greek, whose duties would be confined to teaching professors and pupils the actual pronunciation of Greek, and to exercising them in reading and conversation; while the grammatical and critical elucidation of the language would still be left in the hands of the professors, who would soon be qualified to impart it in its genuine pronunciation. Professor John Stuart Blackie, of Edinburgh, has for many years past followed this system, and I commend the following weighty remarks of his:—

> "I undertake to prove that by learning Greek in the natural and true way, as a living language, by a direct appeal to the ear and response by the tongue, thinking and speaking in Greek from the first lesson, a greater familiarity with that noble language will be acquired in five months than is done now by the assiduous labors of as many years. Nature is always right: schoolmasters and scholars are sometimes wrong."

To go further—schoolmasters and scholars were never more wrong than in their misleading conception of what constitutes "ancient" Greek, so called. In the minds of university men, and perhaps more in the minds of outsiders, "ancient" Greek is limited to Homer (about 1000 B.C.), Hesiod (born 950 B.C.), Pindar (b. 517 B.C.), Herodotus (b. 480 B.C.) and all the poets and prose-writers of the golden age of Attic literature, from Sophocles (b. 498 B.C.) down to Callimachus (b. 227 B.C.). About the end of the third century B.C., Greek literature began to decline. Nevertheless Dionysius of Halicarnassus (b. 50 B.C.), Strabo (b. 60 B.C.), Plutarch (b. 50 A.D.), Lucian, who flourished in the second century of our era, Athenæus (b. 188 A.D.) and Diogenes Laertius (b. 179 A.D.), whose writings date from the third century, are all included in "ancient" Greek. The Greek New Testament—written, of course, during the first decades of the Christian era, though in an admittedly debased style as compared with the classic Greek—is none the less studied along with other "ancient" Greek texts, and in the minds of many passes muster as such.

And yet, in all that constitutes style and idiom in language, there is as great a difference between the Greek of Hesiod and the Greek of Plutarch as there is between the Greek of Xenophon and the style of

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a Greek newspaper of to-day. And again, there is as much similarity between a text-book of geography, as now taught in the gymnasia of the Greek kingdom, and the Greek of Strabo, as there is between the Dialogues of Lucian (b. 135 A.D.) and the Comedies of Aristophanes (b. 430 B.C.). More than this, it may safely be presumed that if a student were strictly confined, in his study of Greek, to the Odes of Pindar, he would experience as great a difficulty in understanding the text of Herodotus, if set to it without any preliminary preparation, as he would in following the sense of St. John's Gospel or a "modern" Greek philosophical treatise, such as Dr. Therianos's life of Coray. He would probably find the Greek of the New Testament the less comprehensible of the two.

Now, what is the explanation of the existing strange confusion of facts? It is to be sought in the old academic tradition which was based on the delusion that Greek had died, as a literary language at least, and which limited the study of Greek to what are admittedly its classic authors; it furthermore adopted as a test standard those authors who wrote in Attic Greek, not only during the great Athenian age, but as late as the second and third centuries after Christ.

It would be both scientifically correct and practically accurate to style the Greek of such authors "classic" or "Attic"; but to define it as "ancient," and to include in that definition what may well be called the prehistoric Greek of Homer (1000 B.C.), and the Greek of the Atticizing authors of the third century of the Christian era,—to the exclusion of the Hellenistic Greek of the first century, the Greek of the Byzantine period, and the Greek of our own time, all of which is loosely and indiscriminately considered "modern,"—is to transgress against all scientific truth and to ignore the incontrovertible facts of history.

No one doubts nowadays that the classic texts which have come down to us no more represent the popular idiom of those times than the classics of France, Germany, or England can be considered as written in the respective colloquial styles of those countries. Classic authors never reproduce the popular spoken and written language of their times. And we know that with the Greek classics more especially, both prose-writing and poetry were considered as demanding the care and finish of a fine art.

The fact that the entire demos of Athens not only followed with perfect ease the dramas and songs of their poets and the harangues of their orators, but were quick to seize every nicety and detect any

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flaws in them,—this undeniable fact is an isolated instance of the existence of an intellectual aristocracy unrivalled in ancient Greece itself, and unmatched in any other epoch or country. On the contrary we have every evidence that in ancient Greece there existed, not only a vernacular, a variety of local idioms and provincialisms, but also entire dialects, special to certain parts of the Greek world, which have not all been preserved in classic literature. Dr. Coumanoudes, the learned professor at the Athens University, has collected from inscriptions and other sources, and published in the form of a dictionary, ten thousand Greek words not met with in any Greek text known to us, and not included in any Greek lexicon. Words, again, and forms of speech used in Homer and some of the earlier poets, disappear in the classics, but are in constant use in the mouth of the people in Crete and other parts of Greece at the present day.

We know also that, from the Alexandrine epoch forward, the Attic dialect, which by reason of its literary excellence and superiority had come into common use, began, in consequence of this very reason, to lose much of its elegance and subtlety, and was gradually disfigured by the introduction of provincialisms; and that from this mixture there arose, already in the third century B.C., the "common dialect," which varied in point of purity and presents different degrees of development, according to the date and the ability of the authors who used it.

Coming to a later epoch, we find that some of the best verses in the Anthology, in point of purity of style and elegance of form, are admittedly the compositions of Byzantine scholars, whose proficiency even in classic Greek is conceded by that merciless detractor of the Greeks of the Eastern Empire. Gibbon says:—

> "In their lowest servitude and depression the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity —of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy."

This golden key has never fallen from the hands of the Greeks; and the Greek language has suffered no break of continuity. In the whole course, even of its late history, not a generation passed by without leaving some written record of its life and work, some monument of its literary activity; so that we have a complete and unbroken chain of evidence of the unity of Greek literature, even during the darkest days of its decay.

The Greek language has never ceased to live. Latin indeed—in

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spite of its exclusive adoption for liturgical purposes by the Roman Church to this day, and in spite of its special use up to a comparatively recent time for certain courtly and legal functions—Latin has died out as a spoken and written language. Its different dialects, having been debased, were merged into local idioms, and have developed into the Romance languages of modern Europe, which now deviate from the mother tongue so materially as each to require a different grammar, a special dictionary, and a separate study for its acquisition; and no one of these offshoots of Latin approaches the parent stock so closely as the Greek of to-day does that of Plato or Xenophon. Latin, having thus died, has undergone no change. Greek has changed from age to age because it has continued to live. But its changes have been, so to say, exterior, not organic; superficial, not fundamental. It is not the dead shrub, that survives only in its offshoots; but the mighty oak, which, after the glow of summer, has shed its leaves in the autumn, has hibernated in winter, to blossom forth again with the returning spring. Of the Greek language it may indeed be said, "*plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*"

After reaching the highest pitch of excellence—a perfection so supreme and ideal as to remain forever the one unrivalled model of human speech—the Greek language declined, decayed, and became degraded almost beyond recovery; but it has again been resuscitated; it has been regenerated and cleansed from the effects of a long barbarous oppression; and it now reverts more and more every day to its original purity and beauty; thus faithfully recording, in its own vicissitudes, the glories and the misfortunes of the Greeks themselves. As it rose to its greatest perfection and beauty with the victories of Marathon and Salamis and the splendors of the Periclean age, so it declined under the Romans; it decayed with the Byzantine Empire, it was lowered almost beyond recognition under the tyranny of the Turks; only to take again a new life to itself, and thus herald the regeneration and signal the freedom of new Greece. For it is a remarkable feature in the survival of Greek language and literature that it preceded and prepared the political regeneration of the people; it did not follow as a result, but it was a cause. No other language presents, in the successive degrees of its literature, so faithful a reflex of the contemporary condition of the nation; and no other nation has, for an uninterrupted space of three thousand years, maintained its language so continuous and so little changed; evincing thereby once more an inherent tenacity and vigor of life which has scarcely been witnessed in any other race.

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If but for this, the study of the Greek language in its entirety offers a special interest and promises great profit. It presents many variations, yet it constitutes an indisputable whole. The Greek of Homer, the Doric Greek (Pindar), the Greek of Ionia (Herodotus), the most perfect and most elegant form of Greek in its Attic classicism, the Alexandrine, the Hellenistic, the Byzantine, the Romaic, the Neo-Hellenic Greek of to-day,—all are interwoven forms and inseparable parts of one and the same language, no one epoch, no one phase of which can be adequately mastered or sufficiently appreciated without the concurrent study of all the other portions of the language. Between no two of them is the difference greater than between the English of Chaucer, the German of Gudrun and the "*Nibelungenlied*," or the French of the "*Chanson de Roland*" and the "*Chanson de la Rose*," and the present style of those languages. Yet the space of time which separates mediæval from modern European literature amounts to about as many centuries as the Greek tongue counts thousands of years of uninterrupted literary life.

These facts have not escaped the notice of scholars who, being versed in every epoch of Greek literature, are qualified to speak with authority as to its continuity. Let us listen first to the eminent historian, the late E. A. Freeman. He wrote in the "Fortnightly Review" of February, 1879, as follows:—

"There is something more in the Greek tongue, something more abiding, something which more nearly touches the general history of mankind, than is to be found in that view of it which looks on it as dead, ancient, classical, cut off from modern interests of every kind. I claim for the Greek its place on the exactly opposite ground, because it is not dead, but living: because it is ancient, it is mediæval and modern no less."

Similar is the testimony of Professor Jebb, of Cambridge, a distinguished scholar in modern no less than in ancient Greek:—

"Old and new Greece are bound together by language. Latin, passing into Romance languages, was more or less disintegrated. Greek was for centuries rude and ungrammatical, but it was always itself and itself alone. . . . In the organic matters of structure and syntax, Greek has never made a compromise with any other language. . . . During the last eighty years the Greek language has been returning more and more to the old classical type. . . . The chief difference now remaining between old and modern Greek is one which exists between old and modern generally,—the old is synthetic, the modern is analytic. Thus it has been the unique destiny of the Greek language to have had, from prehistoric times down to our own, an unbroken life. Not one link is wanting in this chain which binds the new Greece to the old."

J. GENNADIUS.

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A SOUTHERN WOMAN'S STUDY OF BOSTON.

WHEN a Southern visitor goes to Boston, after the first novelty of sight-seeing is over, the chill of the Northern manner and temperament often causes a qualm of homesickness. The stranger feels lonely; her presence is unnoticed unless she gets in somebody's way; and in the early stages of acquaintance she finds it a waste of ammunition to be as cordial as she would be in the South under similar circumstances. When this discovery is made and acted upon, she gets along better, and finds herself respected in proportion to the earnestness with which she appears to be attending to her own business. If any serious trouble overtakes her, she will often be agreeably surprised by a real kindness from some one who had hitherto not only seemed densely reserved but blind to her existence.

She soon conceives a genuine admiration for the spirit of the multitude of brave women around her, living alone, without family ties in the present and scarcely a hope of them for the future, managing with moderate talents and immoderate perseverance to make a respectable support from their trades and arts, and to extract also a fair amount of pleasure from their lives, the press of competition rarely crowding out a resolute struggler. Boston men are helpful to their women. There are not enough men to marry them all, but cheerful and liberal instruction is given in all the ways and means of wage-earning. Woman's equal right, as a human being and fellow-citizen, to possess all she can honestly acquire and to learn all she can possibly absorb, is recognized everywhere in the radius of Boston civilization. If some sweet little feminine privileges, granted as freely as air in the South, are ignored, a looker-on cannot long resist the conclusion that the finger of destiny is pointing that way. The more "rights" women get, the fewer will be their privileges. They must take their choice between them.

In Boston a woman is valued socially in proportion to what she knows and can do well, or, to put it correctly, what she has the reputation of knowing and doing well. In the society of the South, a knowledge of school-books, an appreciation of the fine arts, and a proper acquaintance with English literature, are always politely

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assumed to be a part of a lady's equipment, as her hats and gloves are, whether she is well stocked with them or not; and the degree to which her womanhood adorns and benefits her surroundings marks her value in the mind of the public. A woman who remains unmarried may command the highest respect, but it must be admitted that unless she have some special mission of charity in her family circle or outside of it, she has a dull middle life and old age compared with the middle life and old age of her Boston contemporaries.

If it could be a pleasant thing anywhere for a woman to grow old, it would be so in Boston. In that city spinsters and widows, if they are ambitious and even tolerably healthy, never consider it too late to find a vocation. They would take up botany, china-painting, sloyd, or political economy at sixty with a refreshing independence of their age. I have seen a pupil of seventy at one of the prominent schools of oratory, her fellow-students, mostly in the teens, treating her with a beautiful comradeship, instead of staring at her with suppressed smiles as if she were a kind of "freak." They recognized only her plucky defiance of Father Time's limitations by a larger measure of applause when she recited her pieces than they usually accorded to the younger members of the class.

Relations between the sexes are more romantic and picturesque in the Southern States than they are in New England; the old, and, as must be conceded, the natural ideal of marriage for everybody making youth and beauty the chief attractions.

Boston girls stop dancing in the early twenties, a survival of Puritan decorum probably forbidding that kittenish sport to belated damsels of thirty-five and upwards. In Washington and Baltimore very mature women dance, but they are not so likely to be chosen in wedlock when past the first bloom as New England women are,—if these last marry at all. Southern bachelors and widowers associate the idea of love and marriage only with young women, although fully expecting to be accounted eligible themselves until they wither on the stalk. A Boston man forgives and may even forget a woman's advancing years if she is bright and interesting and can make him feel always that he knows more than she does.

A Boston girl wintering in Georgia was kept in a continual flutter of astonishment at the facility with which the "knights" made love to her; a woman from any quarter of the globe likes to be convinced that she is fascinating, and this one was for a while inclined to believe in the homage she received. But she presently discovered that the

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Georgians were merely indulging in a chivalrous habit, paying tribute to her youth and beauty. Yet it is observable that a real lover makes a deep impression on one of these same Boston maidens,—who can get along so comfortably without the admiration of the opposite sex, when need be,—and she can reciprocate his feelings. She is no more independent of him than a girl from any other zone would be, and she makes a devoted if not a demonstrative wife. It is noticeable also that as a rule she rejects the overtures of an unwelcome suitor with due consideration for his feelings. Not only the scarcity of men in society, but the time-honored custom of announcing engagements, cause her to regard the whole matter of courtship with greater seriousness than girls in the South regard it, where, until a comparatively recent period, there were plenty of men, and the public was allowed only to speculate upon the state of a young lady's affections and the direction of her preference even until her trousseau was fairly under way at her dressmaker's.

The attention which the Boston maiden has given to learning in her girlhood is likely to continue with modifications after marriage. It has become a habit, and is often an inherited taste, several generations of Bostonians having cherished an ambition to take the lead in that line. The standard is no higher now than that of the best-educated persons in other cities; but a high standard in proportion to the population existed there earlier, until it has given a sort of chrism to the mental atmosphere. It is a mistake to conclude that a taste for knowledge interferes with the home. The Bostonians admire success of all things, they want solid comfort, they appreciate money and material advantages to a high degree, and have a keen perception of the road which leads to all these things. Among a diversity of types, if there is such a figure as the typical Boston woman, she would hardly be found neglecting the interests of her home—*ergo* her own interests—for seances, lecture-platforms, and laboratories: she would not consider such a course practical. What is peculiar to her organism might be said to be her capacity for attending to the mental and the material at the same time; this is due in part to her being less emotional and impulsive than many of her sex. It is the stress of emotion that wears out human tissue with the greatest rapidity.

As a rule, in Boston, as everywhere, the more a woman really knows—not the more she pretends to know or wants to be thought to know—the more capable she is as a wife and mother. Certainly a woman will not love and respect her husband less for understanding the

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bearings and claims of his profession; their house will not be less cleanly and comfortable for her comprehension of the laws that govern drainage and ventilation; she will press her infant to her heart with no less devotion for having examined bacteria with a microscope and investigated the sterilization of liquids; her growing boy will even be less likely to die a violent death from some rash experiment of his own for her having attended emergency lectures; and her young daughter may get even more pleasure out of her girlhood for her mother's having absorbed the optimistic philosophy of Emerson.

It is a very pleasant thing in Boston to see all ages, after the first dancing heyday of youth is over, meeting on the neutral impersonal ground of an interest in subjects and pursuits. Ideas having no age, the old keep fresh longer, and the inexperienced lose some of their crudeness. There is a free interchange of opinion about everything. Nothing in the heavens above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth, escapes inquiry; nothing is taken for granted simply because it has heretofore been accepted. Southern guests of active intelligence feel a novel sense of emancipation in this opening of doors that were at home kept shut and securely bolted during seasons of friendly reunion; the fear always existing that if they were left ajar something likely to hurt traditional beliefs and prejudices might escape.

On the other hand, the survival of the Puritan temperament in Boston makes many persons afraid of being too pleasant for the maintenance of sincerity and for the good of their neighbors. This restriction often causes a lack of spontaneity, a stiffness and heaviness in drawing-rooms, where the intelligence and kindly feeling are more than sufficient to produce an opposite effect. The element of graciousness, considered an essential part of the Southern home training, is too often at a minimum. New Englanders accept this graciousness of manner on the part of Southerners with an indulgent air,—a little doubtful of it at times, but on the whole rather pleased and amused by it, as they are by the soft vowels and dialect.

The grandest attribute of the Boston public is its profound regard for the sacredness of selfhood,—for individuality as a formative power; and, as a consequence, character concentrates to a focus. As might be expected where scientific curiosity is a factor so potent, it often plants its standard on unscientific territory, and interest in theories proven or beyond proof becomes a craze. Exotics are especially welcome. The Grand Lama of Tibet, turning off yard upon yard

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of mysticism on a brass prayer-wheel,—if only he would be careful to observe the decencies of New England life through the week,—would draw a large and attentive audience at Music Hall on Sunday, and make an earnest band of converts to the wonder-story of his reincarnations. He would leave his most cordial blessing behind him, and take away a good subscription for the mysterious lamaseries in his native land.

There are retrogressive as well as progressive ideas in the New England "Athens": the cults of India and of Egypt flourish in a mysterious twilight within a few blocks of the Institute of Technology and Boston University. It is the paradise of Irregulars in every line. It is in the old South End that the haunts of occultism are most fully represented; the Esoteric Society has its name over one doorway; and Solar Biology is a sort of annex to this cult, mingling Astrology with Buddhism. Once, strolling into a meeting of the Esoteric Society, I saw "Solar Biology" inscribed above an intricate chart on which a diagram of the human body was connected by lines and geometrical figures with the signs of the zodiac. A thin, mild-eyed man rose on the platform and opened the meeting with these words: "I invite all here present to unite for three minutes in a silent invocation and wish for the benefit of *some one else.*" There was a sublimity in those three silent minutes in which selfishness had no part. When before had the stranger seen a hundred persons all forgetting the mighty Ego at the same time and lifting up their souls in wishes for others? Few mortals could sustain the unique grandeur of such a prelude, and it is not surprising that the address which followed it proved vague and untenable.

Many helpful elevating things are to be found in these mystical philosophies; most thinking persons are ready now to acknowledge psychic force as a reality: but the step from the sublime to the ridiculous is easily taken, and the credulity of some who are shrewd and clear-sighted in the every-day business of life does sometimes provoke a smile. A Boston dressmaker may be given to mixing divers systems of thought in a mysterious hash and dilating upon the sevenfold nature of man while fitting a customer. "You like a short cut on the shoulders?" said one, taking a pin out of her mouth and brandishing her scissors aloft. "You're not feeling so well this winter? So many people are upset in their health now! Talk about 'grippe,' it is a great perihelion among the planets that causes it all! The disease was due to planetary influence. You just sit down when you get home, and let the divine work right through you" (as if referring

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to some active yeast-powder); "*I* woke up with a bad sick-headache the other day, and I didn't know what I *should* do, for I had to move that day; but I got through it all with the aid of this truth and lemon-juice."

The fashionable Bostonians of the Back Bay and suburbs are conservative, and do not tend to the radical phases of occultism. They are rarely to be seen in the beautiful Temple the Spiritualists have erected, but quite a number have become interested in the higher aspects of Theosophy as presented to them by distinguished Oriental gentlemen who have tarried long enough in the city. Mind-reading, telepathy, and psychic research attract others; and some aristocratic chronic invalids, after vainly trying all the pharmacopœia of the doctors, have been restored to health by the mental cure for disease. Among advanced physicians, hypnotism as a remedial agent is a burning question; it may become fashionable in a few more years, and Boston "Regulars" will be the first to offer patients the choice between a pill and a mesmeric sleep, a "suggestion" of relief expected to work as well as the pill at from two to five dollars a suggestion.

The South keeps a firm grip on calomel and quinine, persuaded that nothing else will fit its climate, and is still too orthodox in religious belief to make the occult in any shape a factor in practical affairs, fearing that the devil may be lurking at the bottom of it. The ghost is still kept in his winding-sheet, and is enjoyed only with a mysterious thrill over the twilight fire. An access of scientific curiosity would be a stimulus to the growth of the South in many directions, although, so far as the ghost is concerned, it might be a waste of time, the only positive result of the skilled inquiry into his constitution going on in so many places being a decline of the fear of him.

There is only one exception to the statement that prophets of all races, climes, and proclivities are welcome to bring their teachings to Boston so long as their conduct is according to Boston standards. This is the Pope of Rome. No matter how angelically he might behave while promulgating his doctrines, he would inspire a red-hot antagonism too deeply burned in to have been caused only by the recent feud about public schools. This is another inheritance from those old Pilgrims who crossed the sea for freedom to worship and freedom to persecute. Throughout New England, persons who are liberally disposed in every other direction enjoy a fling at priests and nuns as bugaboos. The educated Southerner cannot exactly participate in this aversion, having found her acquaintances among the

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Roman Catholic families of Baltimore, Washington, Mobile, New Orleans, and a certain belt of Kentucky, as agreeable, refined, and law-abiding as citizens of other creeds, without horns or hoofs on their persons, or trap-doors and secret passages in their institutions.

An impression has gone abroad that Boston critics are terribly severe to encounter; in reality printed criticism is mainly generous. When real ability and earnest effort are behind failure, the governing spirit of the press there is always ready to credit the failure as a preliminary, a step in evolution. "Evolution," by the way, is still the latest word in Boston. Nobody need try to succeed there in anything without excellence, but excellence alone will not ensure success: it must be "fadded" by the leading set. A fad once properly inaugurated is promoted for the nonce to the pedestal of a cult, and then no sort of eccentricity of manner or of setting constitutes a barrier. If the lucky originator of a full-fledged fad should be a woman, she might don a short black-serge dress and white stockings to give her evening entertainments, talk straight through her nose from under a big poke bonnet (although the Bostonians do not themselves affect white hose and a nasal twang); and her audience would lose the sense of the comical and applaud the idea she represented, the mere medium for it becoming secondary. *The idea*, in and by itself, is a more vital and controlling force than in any city of modern times; there is something glorious in its prerogative.

When it comes to real originality, with all their appreciation of a good thing that is new, the new good thing is more likely now to come to Boston for recognition than it is to spring into being there, and there are more brilliant and versatile conversationalists in some of the large Southern cities. The following of fads is menacing originality to such a degree that a halt is being called in some directions. It is seen at last that the reading of Browning and the praying to understand him may take up too much of the limited span that can advantageously be given to poetry; that the painstaking acquisition of Delsarte gestures throughout the system may not leave room enough for the unexpected in feeling and manner, and (though it is still a heresy to say so) the votaries of the Impressionist School of Art may some day be willing to banish to their attics some of the vivid sketches of the blue and pink rocks, the lilac houses, and canary-colored grass, that it is now the fad to see in the landscape. It is not the desire or the real nature of Boston women to be superficial; they are thoughtful and earnest in temperament and get a great

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deal out of life in one way and another—so much that they might get more by attempting less,—this is what they are finding out.

No end of curious incongruities strike the Southerner in Boston, arising from the prevalence of a certain amount of book-learning and an educated middle class. Among persons who have had the best school training, but not the best early social advantages, often heart and manners do not seem cultivated up to the brain, a mellowing process throughout being needed. The neighbor at a boarding-house table who discusses Comte's altruistic philosophy at dinner may grunt a reluctant "good-morning" the next day; it may require several months of proximity for his civilities to reach the point of passing the vinegar-cruet. The man who explains the glacial theory so lucidly to his son as they look toward the skating-pond on the Common may be practically frozen to the end seat of the car at the same moment, and allow ladies who are encumbered with hand-bags and umbrellas to struggle across his knees. These painful surprises rarely occur in "Dixie"; if the area of education is less widely distributed there among the masses it is more likely to be found an even thing in the individual.

As a sort of anti-climax to this, one sometimes notices in Southern society a needless hesitation about displaying knowledge and individual tastes, lest somebody in the circle should be bored or made to feel deficient. Often this consideration for the general social ideal has a narrowing influence upon persons conscious of possessing talent or marked bias and longing for an outlet; many—women especially—attempt to fit themselves into grooves that are too small for them rather than be thought "peculiar." The Boston fashion of taking all the candles from under bushels, of letting no talents be buried in napkins, is more conducive to growth and happiness. As a matter of course, where there is an apotheosis of culture, shams of the real thing also will often be found. Many persons pay for winter sittings at Trinity Church, and season tickets to the Symphony concerts, because they wish to be credited with good taste.

The beautiful custom of treating governesses as equals prevails in Southern families; they are honored guests in country neighborhoods, sharing the social distinction of the daughters of the house; and from such a standpoint it certainly looks like an inconsistency in suburban Bostonians of high degree that they tacitly assign a subordinate position in their homes to the chosen exponents and exemplars of highly prized culture. This is very English.

Anglomania has grown to be second nature in some cases. The

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best way to make a favorable impression at the start on persons of a certain set is to mistake them for Englishmen. The imitation is not bad,—the rough suit, the unbecoming hat, the arms akimbo as if hung by loose springs to the shoulders, and last but not least the *basso profundo* enunciation, the long *à* being *de rigueur*. Some Anglomaniacs out-English the English by pronouncing "and" as *ànd*. One female Anglomaniac asked an American naval officer if he did not think the British flag the most glorious one to sail under!

The Bostonians are hospitable to strangers if they consider them worth knowing, and are careful to return any attention that has ever been paid to themselves or their kindred in another city. The very easiest way to ensure a volley of hospitality and to gain the heart of the place is to let it be understood that the stranger appearing there has been the victim of oppression, of some deep, deadly wrong elsewhere. Then a universal throb of indignation will strike tenderness and passion in a flash from the New England nature as nothing else will. The object of sympathy may be red, white, or black. Boston sometimes gets "taken in" through her active sympathies for the supposed victims of other less enlightened communities.

Boston women usually have a lurking conviction that the stranger among them has more time to spare for visiting than they have, and the stranger soon concedes this to be a fact. Never was a set of women more desperately worked, more solemnly, awfully driven, between the conscientiously fulfilled duties of the home and the Ethical Reform societies, "Nineteenth-Century-Thought" classes, Associated Charities, concerts and clubs. Their clubs would in themselves furnish a liberal education to any woman privileged to attend and capable of assimilating them all with her mental digestion. The "Elderblow Tea," given in Brookline every fortnight during the winter, is one of the most charming club reunions, membership being restricted to "settled" ladies, many of them even elderly, and all possessed of great refinement and cultivation. No matter how busy Boston women may be, they always find time to call on strangers who are distinguished for something, even if these chance to be sojourning in the tabooed South End, which is usually spoken of as if it were located at the end of creation, although the new-comer soon discovers that it is but a few minutes' walk from the halcyon "Back Bay" district.

Admiration for talent, for successful intellectual and artistic enterprise, is a distinctive feature. Residents who have attained celebrity in a literary way become a limited aristocracy carefully graded

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and not expected to return calls; aspirants in the various embryonic stages crowding in on their reception days to pay willing tribute.

A Southern lady long residing in Cambridge contributes an amusing anecdote illustrative of the intensity the pursuit of cults sometimes acquires, finally crowding to the wall the merely superficial social obligations. An intellectual representative of an historic Massachusetts family had been owing her a visit for a long time, and, the two meeting one day by chance, the derelict Miss Blue-Blood feared an immediate reproach. "Oh dear!" she exclaimed; "I've been intending to call on you for ever so long, but it is one of those nasty jobs that I can't seem to accomplish!" A moment more, and she was joining in the laugh at her own expense, apologizing for her apology. She had not meant to be discourteous; she knew only that she was gasping for time to do everything, and, when cornered, frankly came out with the unvarnished truth.

A Southerner of passably even temper will get along quite well now in political discussions, most of the old issues being safely dead, unless he has the hard luck of being housed with a posse of Wendell Phillips radicals during a Presidential campaign, when they will hold him personally responsible for evils in the South which may have had their origin in evils at the North a hundred years before he was born. Radicals of this stripe are becoming rare.

Boston loves to probe, to reconstruct; and when her conscience is convicted of wrong at home she turns the lance as mercilessly against herself. There is an oversoul, as it were, of Boston, which the higher order of citizens looks up to, and holds before the eyes of the people, and there is something noble in the continual effort made to keep the city up to this ideal. A community devoid of a good opinion of itself could never amount to much in the world's opinion. Boston is conceited, but so are New York and Chicago. How was it with Rome and Athens? And, since their day, how has it been with England, Virginia, South Carolina?

Delightful dinners are given by Bostonians who have escaped from their ancestral cuisine, but the ordinary cooking of the people is distasteful to a Southern palate: there are too many pies; too many codfish are caught; too many beans are baked; too much brown bread is made on Saturday nights. It is quite probable, however, that the insipid "boiled dinners" are more wholesome than the fried dishes that prevail in the South.

It is a perpetual surprise to see Boston women getting along

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comfortably with so few servants. There are some with fair incomes who do not keep a nurse for a first baby after it is six weeks old. Of course, if the nursery fills up, extra help becomes necessary. One discharged her nurse when her baby was two months old, resuming her favorite botanical studies, and this without neglecting the human specimen. If he was not always accommodating enough to sleep, cook held him while mamma botanized. There are young professors who marry on a regular salary of $850. With some small outside assistance from "coaching" and other work, they go to housekeeping in one of the suburban towns; and if the wife is gifted with "faculty" they get richer instead of poorer as the years go by, she doing the housework and managing to know something about her husband's special branch besides. Many a well-dressed Northern woman with a pretty home and a small family will say in the course of conversation: "I do the cooking myself. Oh, yes! I wouldn't be bothered with training a girl; they waste more than they are worth." This is wherein a bracing climate, with an inherited habit of waiting on themselves, accounts for much with the New Englanders.

Southern women will do quite as much for love—what have they not done since the war? They have even driven mule-carts to the woods and felled the trees for fuel to burn; but it is certain that as soon as they find themselves able financially to employ somebody accustomed to manual labor and glad to be paid for doing it, they will take advantage of the opportunity. A Southern lady will do without a servant—necessity obliging her—just as she would do without a leg or an arm, and try to make the best of a hard lot, but she cannot be said to regard a servant in her house as an evil. On the contrary she is more likely to feel grateful to that functionary for giving her a chance to accomplish something outside the drudgery of life.

The best domestic service in Boston is that of Scandinavians. On the part of some persons there is a decided repulsion felt toward the Negro in household relations. His constitution, as the Southern people know, who had him to train for two hundred years,—shiftless, irresponsible, faithful, and affectionate,—is still a mystery. New England understands him only when he gets to studying law, medicine, or engineering, and is called "Mr.,"—in other words, when he assumes the conditions of the white man.

A great deal has been said about the relative generosity of the New England and the Southern natures. If a neighbor's house were burned and he left destitute, the conscientious effort to help him, even

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at some personal sacrifice, would be much the same in the two regions. Boston has felt every stricken city in the land to be a near neighbor and contributed nobly to its relief. But the Southerner is more generous, less questioning, when it comes to purely impulsive giving. If asked for a quarter he feels prompted to hand it over at once, thinking the sum too trifling to be worth talking about; if his pocketbook is empty he is very sorry. A quarter looks larger to the average New Englander even when he has more quarters. He has a conscientious feeling that "the case ought to be investigated." This logical giving is more commendable as a system, but sometimes the other temperament is capable of a sudden generous overflow that comes like a tidal wave mighty enough to sweep away in one divine moment all the boundary lines of hate and prejudice.

Bostonians do not claim that their beloved city is cosmopolitan like Paris, like New York and Washington. They prize it more for not being cosmopolitan, and, with all its progressive ideas, it retains some of the characteristics of the early New England village.

If outsiders as they now are, go to Boston as it now is, to live and not to visit, and wish to be even moderately contented, they must acquire a serious aim if they fail to bring one with them. They must "grapple" it to their "souls with hoops of steel," they must live and be prepared to die still grappling. They may miss some of the sweet amenities of their ancestral homes, the glow of impulsive friendship and spontaneous demonstration, the balm of a softer climate; but nowhere on the planet will a satisfied head come nearer to being a substitute for a satisfied heart, nor could there be a better place for a disappointed life to attain the conviction that life, if only as a means of development, is worth living.

FRANCES ALBERT DOUGHTY.

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CAN RAILROAD RATES BE CHEAPENED?

No single result of recent discussions of the various topics collectively termed the "railway problem" is more apparent than the disappearance of the purely superficial notion of a continuous combat between a small body of railway proprietors, on the one hand, and, on the other, the general public, whose interests were considered to require the very lowest rates. A clearer insight into the relations between railroads and their patrons has demonstrated a surprising identity of interest which requires harmonious sentiment and action in order to promote the prosperity of all.

According to the latest information furnished by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the number of employees in the railway service on June 30, 1893, was 873,602, from which it may safely be estimated that not less than 3,500,000 persons are directly supported from the proceeds of railway transportation. When the number of producers and others required to supply railway operatives and their families with the necessaries of life is considered, it becomes apparent that a very large body of our citizens is dependent for prosperity almost wholly upon that of the railways.

A brief examination of the present financial condition of the railway system is sufficient to show that the charges for railway transportation now in force do not produce excessive revenue, and that any changes toward lower charges, which are unaccompanied by measures of radical economy in operation, will render the business unprofitable and consequently be detrimental to the public interest.

During the decade from the beginning of 1884 to the end of 1893, 74,348 miles of railway, operated by 311 independent corporations, and capitalized at $3,853,371,000, passed from the control of stockholders into that of receivers appointed by the courts, on account of the failure of the rates obtained for transportation to provide sufficient revenue to meet the expenses of operation, taxes, and interest. Of this total, 29,476 miles (40 per cent of the mileage), capitalized at $1,758,836,000 (46 per cent of capital), was placed in charge of receivers during the year ending December 31, 1893. The entire

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railway mileage operated by receivers on that date was 40,279, and the par value of its stocks and bonds $2,217,656,000, constituting 23 per cent and 21 per cent respectively of the total railway mileage and capital in the United States.

During 1893, twenty-five railways, operating 1,613 miles of road, and represented by $79,924,000 of capital stocks and bonds, were sold under foreclosure, while the number thus sold during eighteen years from 1876 to 1893 inclusive was 551, their aggregate length 57,283 miles, and their capitalization $3,209,126,000. The crop of foreclosures that must inevitably follow the enormous number of receiverships created during 1893 is not yet ready for harvest. When its data become available they will afford an appalling presentation of the financial condition of a large portion of our railway system.

According to the latest data furnished by the Statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, during the year ending June 30, 1893, railway stocks having a par value of $2,859,334,572, or 61.24 per cent of the total stock capital, received no dividends; and no interest was paid on mortgage bonds amounting to $492,276,999, or 10.93 per cent of the total, nor upon $204,864,269 of income bonds, being 82.56 per cent of the total.

The average rates of dividend and interest during 1893 are not yet known, but during 1892 they were as follows: Dividends on preferred stock, 2.73 per cent; on common stock, 2 per cent; average on all stock, 2.11 per cent; interest on funded debt, 4.75 per cent; interest on unfunded debt, 1.47 per cent; average rate of return to capital of all classes, 3.38 per cent.

The ratio of return to invested capital in the form of dividends on capital stock has declined with great rapidity during the last twenty years. In 1871, with 44,614 miles of railway, the dividends paid averaged $1,265 per mile of line; in 1882, with 107,158 miles, dividends were only $952 per mile; while in 1893, with 176,461 miles, dividends had declined to an average of $572 per mile. Comparing the years 1883 and 1892, it is found that the mileage of the latter year was 55 per cent greater than that of the former, the gross earnings 45 per cent greater, and the net earnings 20 per cent greater; but the aggregate sum paid in dividends had actually declined more than 20 per cent. The decline in the average amount of dividends per mile of line equalled 48 per cent of the average of 1883.

The rates charged for railway transportation have shown a con-

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stant downward tendency so extensive as to afford considerable evidence in support of the contention that they are regulated by forces beyond the control of managers or owners. During the six years covered by the reports of the Bureau of Statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average rate per ton per mile charged for the transportation of freight declined from 1.001 cents to .878 cent, and that per passenger per mile from 2.349 cents to 2.108 cents. Inconsiderable as these reductions appear, when stated in this form, they amount to a saving to the public upon the traffic carried during the year ending June 30, 1893, of $115,113,377 on freight, and $34,292,134 on passenger traffic; or a total of $149,405,511 in one year,—an amount exceeding by 48 per cent the aggregate of all dividends paid during that year.

An investigation of the charges exacted for the transportation of freight by rail during the period from 1852 to 1892 inclusive was recently made by Mr. C. C. McCain, the Auditor of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and an acknowledged authority upon the subject of railway rates. The results of his work were published as a Senate Document in connection with the Finance Committee's Report on Prices and Wages, and show a decline which has been constant and considerable and has included all sections of the country and all articles of commerce commonly offered for shipment by rail.

Notwithstanding these extensive reductions and the unfortunate financial condition of so many railways, there is a continuous popular demand for still cheaper transportation. It is on account of this demand that many States have resorted to legislation prescribing maximum rates, and other even less defensible measures which are believed by many to be unfavorable alike to the railways and the public. This, too, is to be assigned as the chief reason for the existence of numerous State railway commissions clothed with authority, more or less effective, to require reductions in rates within the boundaries of individual States, and of the Interstate Commerce Commission with similar power in regard to rates upon traffic between States.

The public desire for cheaper transportation is both reasonable and natural. The carrier of goods is a middleman between producer and consumer, and consequently obnoxious to both. While it is to nobody's interest that the business of transportation should become unprofitable, its charges are a principal part of the friction incident to the processes of exchange and distribution; and the best interests of all, therefore, require their reduction to the lowest practicable

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minimum. Consequently the public will be well served if, from a critical observation of current railway methods, there shall be discovered important particulars in which they can be so reformed as to allow radical economies in operation, as by that means alone can the reductions in rates which have so far characterized the development of the railway system be continued without reducing all companies to the condition of bankruptcy already confronting a large number.

The expenses incident to the struggle for traffic between competing lines could undoubtedly be reduced, if not entirely eliminated, by better methods of conducting transportation. Prominent among these is the outlay incident to the system of paying commissions to influence the routing of traffic in favor of particular lines. Authentic statistics concerning the amounts thus expended are exceedingly difficult to obtain, as the efficiency of such practices in securing business obviously depends largely upon the degree of secrecy attained, as, if the rate of commission allowed becomes known, it will generally be met by competing lines, and agents will no longer have any reason to favor a particular route. From an investigation made by the Interstate Commerce Commission several years ago, it appeared that during the year ending June 30, 1889, 108 companies paid commissions amounting in the aggregate to $1,729,492, of which $1,097,130 was paid by nine roads. As high as $20.70 is alleged to have been paid for the sale of a single second-class ticket from Chicago to San Francisco. Annual, largely-attended conventions of ticket-scalpers from all parts of the country afford evidence that these expenses are sufficient to support a considerable army of parasites.

Another extravagance resulting from the struggle for traffic is that required to maintain the multitude of outside agencies and travelling agents, whose sole occupation is to secure the routing of passengers and freight by their respective lines. So important are the expenditures resulting from these causes, even during seasons of comparative harmony between rival lines, that the number of such agencies is frequently restricted by contract. In one of our principal Atlantic seaboard cities at which nine railways compete for westbound passenger traffic, a contract is known to have been in force limiting to seven the number of agencies each should be allowed to maintain. Obviously a system of joint agencies would have accorded the public equal if not superior service at an enormous saving in expense. During those too-frequent periods of fierce and unbridled competition popularly denominated "rate-wars," each participating

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road has its freight and passenger agents in every important city in the country, at a total expense for rents, clerk-hire, advertising, etc., which can scarcely be estimated. During a single year, when rates were fairly maintained, four roads operating westward from Chicago paid $1,283,585 for maintaining outside agencies and advertising, and one road from New York expended $871,291 for similar purposes.

Much economic waste arises from the competition of long and circuitous routes for traffic which would naturally go by more direct and shorter lines. As an example of this class of competition, that for freight traffic between New York and New Orleans may be cited. This traffic is actively sought by various lines operating in whole or in part by water, and in consequence the rates obtainable are extremely low; yet in spite of this fact 94 all-rail routes are known to seek actively to secure it. Of these the shortest and most direct is by way of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Lynchburg, Bristol, and Chattanooga, the entire distance being 1,340 miles. In contrast to this, the longest route, involving a total haul of 2,051 miles, is by way of Buffalo, New Haven, Ind., St. Louis, and Texarkana. Estimating the cost of carrying a minimum carload of 24,000 pounds at the basis per ton per mile furnished by the Statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the year ending June 30, 1892, the cost for the shorter route is $77.18; for the longer, $118.14,—or an excess over the minimum of necessary expenditure for each carload carried by the longer route of $40.96, or 53 per cent. This illustration is typical of the entire transportation system, and many equally startling instances could be shown. Between Omaha and St. Paul, with a short-line distance of 373 miles, traffic is carried by a competing line whose distance is 734 miles. Between Chicago and New York there are 21 routes ranging from 912 to 1,376 miles; from Chicago to Montreal, 10 routes ranging from 837 to 1,400 miles; from Omaha to San Francisco, five routes varying from 1,865 to 2,724 miles; and from Chicago to Jacksonville, Fla., 63 routes ranging from 1,097 to 1,644 miles in length. These are not merely possible routes, but are all actually competing for traffic between the points named. A case recently decided by the Interstate Commerce Commission illustrates this practice in one of its many phases. A shipper located at Ritzville, Wash., offered a carload of wheat for shipment to Portland, Ore., which the railroad declined to accept, except upon the understanding that it should be carried on its own

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line over the Cascade Mountains, through a long tunnel to Tacoma, and thence to destination, a total distance of 480 miles, over an expensive and circuitous route having many costly grades, although in connection with another railway there was a shorter route of only 311 miles, mostly along the Columbia River, with few and light grades. The Commission, in an opinion rendered by Chairman Morrison, sustained the contention of the complainants that it is the right of every shipper to demand that his goods be carried over the least expensive route. While it may be true that the shortest is not necessarily the cheapest route, yet it cannot be doubted that a considerable saving would result from forwarding all traffic over whatever routes should be found by careful experiment to be the cheapest.

Railway revenues are constantly wasted in order to maintain competitive train service, both passenger and freight, which is wholly unnecessary for the accommodation of the public or the demands of traffic. Between Chicago and Omaha, 22 passenger trains, or 11 each way, are run on every day except Sunday, and 16 run seven times a week. As there are only about 200 passengers per diem in each direction, it is evident that half as many trains would afford ample accommodation with sufficient margin for local traffic. Upon the basis of the estimated cost per mile for running passenger trains, furnished by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the cost of running a passenger train from Omaha to Chicago is about $400, and the saving resulting from reducing the number of trains one-half would amount to $1,539,200 per year. Similar duplication of service exists between Chicago and Kansas City, Chicago and St. Paul, St. Louis and Kansas City, and in many other localities. Similar data are not available regarding freight service, but it is certain that while an ordinary locomotive will readily haul from twenty-five to thirty loaded cars upon level road, the actual average trainload of about 182 tons is far too low. The statement that the most economical use of railway facilities would require that every locomotive should haul a full train of completely loaded cars, and that great savings can be effected by measures tending to secure that result, does not need further amplification.

Large sums are also expended annually in maintaining separate and duplicate organizations with the requisite official machinery for each. Though reform in this direction may seem less practicable, there is no doubt that, could it be effected, large savings would result.

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It will be observed that all the wasteful expenditures enumerated are in some way connected with competition between carriers for traffic, and it will not be surprising, therefore, that its elimination in a greater or less degree is suggested as the means through which the radical economies which are a necessary preliminary to further reductions in rates are to be effected.

The measures which have been suggested to attain this end are railway associations, pooling, consolidation. These will be found to be satisfactory in exact proportion to the degree in which they are successful in suppressing competition. Railway associations not founded upon the principle of division of traffic or earnings have proved ineffectual because they do not sufficiently protect the traffic or revenues of the weaker lines. Pooling, when permitted, was charged with responsibility for the construction of unnecessary lines which could serve no useful end, but were built upon the purely speculative anticipation of being able, by piratical methods, to obtain a share of the pooled traffic. Consolidation, if carried far enough, would render unnecessary the payment of commissions to secure traffic and the maintenance of expensive agencies; would cause all traffic to be forwarded by the cheapest routes; would do away with unnecessary train service and empty trains; would wipe out duplicate organizations,—in short, would abolish all competition. It might also render imperative a decision upon the question whether the government shall own the railways.

H. T. NEWCOMB.

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